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The Cambridge Grammar of Medieval and Early Modern Greek

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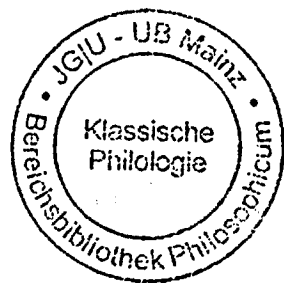


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The Cambridge Grammar of Medieval and Early Modern Greek

Volume 4 Syntax

13/497

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Correspondence Table of Graphemes and Phonemes

For the general orientation of the non-specialist user of this Grammar, this correspondence table indicates the relationship between the letters of the Greek alphabet and the phonemes they represent in Medieval and Early Modern Greek. It does not include graphematic particularities such as ligatures, abbreviations, special symbols or scribal idiosyncrasies which may be encountered in manuscript, epigraphic and printed sources, for which see the specific bibliography given in section 4 of the General Introduction (Volume 1). Further details concerning allophonic, regional or other particular realizations are provided, when necessary, in the relevant phoneme sections in Phonology.

| Grapheme | Phoneme | Allophone |
|----------|-----------|-----------|
| A α | /a/ | |
| B β | /v/ | |
| Γ γ | /ɣ/ | [j] |
| Δ δ | /ð/ | |
| E ε | /e/ | |
| Z ζ | /z/ | |
| H η | /i/ | |
| Θ θ | /θ/ | |
| I ι | /i/ | |
| K κ | /k/ | [c] |
| Λ λ | /l/ | [Λ] |
| M μ | /m/ | |
| N ν | /n/ | [n] |
| Ξ ξ | /ks/ | |
| O ο | /o/ | |
| Π π | /p/ | |
| P ρ | /r/ | |
| Σ σ ς | /s/ | |
| T τ | /t/ | |
| Υ υ | /y/ > /i/ | |
| Φ φ | /f/ | |
| Χ χ | /x/ | [ç] |
| Ψ ψ | /ps/ | |
| Ω ω | /o/ | |

| Digraph | Phoneme | Allophone |
|---------|-------------|------------|
| αι | /e/ | |
| αυ | /af/ - /av/ | |
| γγ | /ng/ | [ŋg] - [g] |
| γκ | /ng/ | [ŋg] - [g] |
| ει | /i/ | |
| ευ | /ef/ - /ev/ | |
| μπ | /mb/ | [b] |
| ντ | /nd/ | [d] |
| οι | /y/ > /i/ | |
| ου | /u/ | |
| τζ | /ts/ - /dz/ | |
| υι | /y/ > /i/ | |

Abbreviations

Cross-references within the Grammar are given by Chapter and Section, e.g. 2.6.3, if they refer to the same Part, but if to a different Part they begin with the relevant Part number, e.g. II, 3.1.

Periods and Dates

| | |
|-------|-----------------------|
| AG | Ancient Greek |
| EMedG | Early Medieval Greek |
| LMedG | Late Medieval Greek |
| EMG | Early Modern Greek |
| SMG | Standard Modern Greek |
| ca. | circa |
| c. | century |

General

| | |
|----------------|---|
| app. crit. | apparatus criticus |
| f., ff. | folio(s) |
| ibid. | in the same text, i.e. the one cited immediately before |
| id./idem/eadem | by the same author |
| ms(s) | manuscript(s) |
| vs. | versus |

Grammatical Terms

| | |
|---------|-------------|
| acc. | accusative |
| act. | active |
| adv. | adverb |
| aor. | aorist |
| F/fem. | feminine |
| fut. | future |
| gen. | genitive |
| imp. | imperative |
| imperf. | imperfect |
| ind. | indicative |
| inf. | infinitive |
| M/masc. | masculine |
| N/neut. | neuter |
| NP | noun phrase |

List of Abbreviations

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| | |
|----------|---|
| nom. | nominative |
| pass. | passive |
| perf. | perfect |
| pl. | plural (e.g. 3 pl. = 3rd person plural) |
| pluperf. | pluperfect |
| PP | prepositional phrase |
| prep. | preposition |
| pres. | present |
| pron. | pronoun |
| sg. | singular (e.g. 1 sg. = 1st person singular) |
| subj. | subjunctive |
| voc. | vocative |
| VP | verb phrase |

Languages

| | |
|---------|----------------|
| Alb. | Albanian |
| Fr. | French |
| IE | Indo-European |
| Ital. | Italian |
| MedLat. | Medieval Latin |
| Lat. | Latin |
| Occit. | Occitan |
| OFr. | Old French |
| Port. | Portuguese |
| Rom. | Romanian |
| Slav. | Slavonic |
| Turk. | Turkish |
| Ven. | Venetian |

Part IV
Syntax

Introduction

The eight syntax chapters were written on the basis of material taken from the grammar database set up by Notis Toufexis. The arduous work of selecting and compiling the examples was done chiefly by Marjolijne Janssen, with the assistance of Tina Lendari, Io Manolessou and Notis Toufexis. Further data were added when necessary for the sake of completeness.

The purpose of these chapters is to characterize the syntax of Medieval and Early Modern Greek by means of the rules that define its various constructions; no systematic effort has therefore been made to compare Medieval Greek with its ancient predecessor or its modern successor, though diachronic observations are sometimes offered where these seemed helpful. The rules in each chapter are numbered sequentially for ease of reference and presented in bold. Where necessary, further detail is supplied immediately below a rule, followed by a set of illustrative instantiations, stripped of irrelevant and superfluous detail. For example, since verse, syntactically speaking, differs from prose primarily in having a higher proportion of "marked" constituent orders, I have cited verse in a continuous format, without marking line-ends. I have also omitted any parts of examples, whether in verse or prose, that are not germane to the point under discussion (the deletions are indicated ...). In each set of examples, the material is organized chronologically, with the earliest material coming first. In the case of documentary texts, their place of origin is specified if known, together with their date. Literary texts, by contrast, are assigned to a century (sometimes tentatively), and where two different centuries are given, the first is that of the manuscript(s), the second that of composition. As far as possible, examples were chosen to illustrate not only the operation of rules but also the geographical spread and chronological range of the relevant structures. In some cases there are additional Notes below the citations, dealing, for example, with difficult, unusual, irregular or distributionally restricted phenomena.

I should add here that the spellings in the examples cited are those of the original editions, except that traditional subjunctive endings have been standardized by the addition of iota subscript in the relevant forms if this was omitted. But having blocks of examples exhibiting several different systems of accentuation simultaneously seemed not only an unnecessary distraction from syntactic matters but also aesthetically unattractive. A regularized polytonic form of accentuation has therefore been employed throughout, regardless of the preferred practice of individual editors. I offer no apologies.

Particular thanks are due to Marjolijne Janssen, who read through the complete text, updated several references in the light of recent publications, checked and normalised the orthography, and most importantly, corrected a number of errors of interpretation. I am very grateful for her contribution. I should also like to record here my gratitude to Peter

Mackridge, who, with characteristic generosity, offered to comment in detail on an earlier draft of these chapters. His careful reading of a complex text saved me from more than a few errors of form and interpretation, and raised a number of important issues that had simply passed me by. The final version has been greatly improved by the incorporation of his corrections and observations, and by the rewriting of several parts of the text in the light of his expert advice.

GCH

1 Main Clauses

1.1 Subject and Predicate

Complete sentences consist of at least one main clause and may contain any number of subordinate clauses (see Chapters 2–3 and 5.3.3). Two or more clauses may be conjoined or stand in apposition (see Chapter 7).

All clauses combine the meaning of a subject with that of a predicate, even when there is no “overt” subject present and its “content” has to be supplied indirectly, e.g. by reference to the verbal morphology (in finite clauses, see Rule (1) NOTE (i) immediately below), or through rules of control (in some non-finite clauses, see 3.4, Rules (36) and (37), and 3.8). This chapter deals with main clauses.

1.1.1 Subjects

- (1) The subject of a finite verb is in the nominative case; the verb agrees with its subject in person and number.

| | | |
|-------|---|---|
| 1 sg. | ἐγὼ τὸ θέλω κι ἀγαπῶ | 14th c., <i>Chron. Mor.</i> H 578 |
| 2 sg. | ἐσύ κλωσσᾷς τὰ χηνόπουλα | 17th c., <i>Bertoldin.</i> 128.14 |
| 3 sg. | καὶ ὁ φθόνος ἐτυφλῶσεν | 15th c./14th c., <i>Velis.</i> χ 536 |
| 1 pl. | ἡμεῖς μὲν ζῶμεν | 1256, Palatia (Miletos), NYSTAZOPOULOU 1966: 1, 288.1 |
| 2 pl. | ἐχάλασθήκετε ἐσεῖς κακῶς | 16th c./12th c., <i>Dig.</i> A 3219 |
| 3 pl. | ὥς καὶ μαρτύρουν αὐτὰ οἱ καλοὶ ἄνθρωποι | ?1125, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 18, 417.7 |

NOTES

- (i) Subjects are routinely omitted when their “content” is pronominal (i.e. = “I”, “you”, “he/she/it”, etc.) and non-emphatic/non-contrastive, since the relevant person/number information is directly inferable from the agreement morphology on the verb (though additional contextual information may be required to identify the referent):

| | | |
|-------|------------------------|---|
| 1 sg. | λέγω σε τὴν αἰτίαν μου | 12th c./11th c., NIKON, <i>Logos</i> 9 312.10 |
| 3 sg. | παρεκάθισε τὴν πόλιν | 15th–16th c., ?Peloponnese, SCHREINER 1975/79: 33.III, 252.53.2 |

- (ii) Conjoined subjects of different persons trigger agreement as follows:

1 sg./pl. + 2 sg./pl. > 1 pl.
 1 sg./pl. + 3 sg./pl. > 1 pl.
 2 sg./pl. + 3 sg./pl. > 2 pl.
 3 sg./pl. + 3 sg./pl. > 3 pl.

- (iii) Exceptions to the regular agreement rules include:

Agreement "by sense", e.g. where a formally singular subject denoting a collective entity takes a plural verb:

καὶ τόσον πολὺν ἀρίφνητον ἐφθασαν εἰς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον τὸ φουσάτον
 16th c., *Diig. Alex. F* 20.12–13 (Konstantinopolos)

Agreement with only the closest of a set of subjects:

καὶ ποσῶς οὐκ ὠφελήσῃ καὶ τὸ σκῆπτρον καὶ τὸ στέμμα τοῦ θεοῦ σου
 14th c./15th c., *ERMON., Ilias* 7.112–14

Archaizing "Attic syntax", i.e. singular verb with neuter plural subject (mainly in earlier poetry with other learned elements):

ὥς γὰρ τὰ ξύλα τοῦ πυρὸς τὴν φλόγαν ἐπαυξάνει ?12th–13th c., *Spaneas P* 131

- (iv) For the agreement of nominal and adjectival predicative complements, see immediately below.

1.1.2 Nominal and Adjectival Predicative Complements

- (2) In clauses containing a copular verb ("be", "become", "remain", "be made/called/appointed" etc.), a nominal/adjectival complement attributing a property to the subject agrees with the subject in case; complement nouns (with inherent gender) also agree in number, while complement adjectives agree in both gender and number; predicate nouns normally lack an article (see 5.3.2, Rule (76) NOTE (i)).

Nom. Masc. Sg. Subject + Nom. Masc. Sg. Adjectival Complement

ὁ γέρων νέος οὐ γίνεται 13th c./12th c., *GLYKAS, Stichoí* 222

Nom. Fem. Sg. Subject + Nom. Fem. Sg. Adjectival Complement

σαράντα ἡμέρες λείπεται ἄψαλτη ἢ ἐκκλησιά τους 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 768

Nom. Fem. Sg. Subject + Nom. Sg. Nominal Complement (Inherently Feminine)

ἐμείνεν χήρα ἢ κυρά ἢ Τσαρλόττα 16th c./15th c., *VOUSTR., Chron.* B 32.18

Nom. Masc. Sg. Subject (omitted) + Nom. Sg. Nominal Complements (Inherently Neuter)

καὶ βασιλέως παιδίν ἡμουν, μεγάλου ἀνθρώπου ἐκγόνι
 16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 51

- (3) If a transitive verb takes a nominal/adjectival complement attributing a property to its object (normally without the mediation of a copula), the predicate noun or adjective agrees with the object in case, and in number and gender as in Rule (1).

Acc. Masc. Sg. Object + Acc. Sg. Nominal Complement (inherently masculine)

πολλὰ τὸν ἔχω εὐκαιρητὴν ἐκείνον τὸν γονέα 13th c./12th c., *GLYKAS, Stichoí* 208

Acc. Neut. Sg. Object + Acc. Neut. Sg. Adjectival Complement

δείξον λοξὸν τὸ βλέμμα 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. I* 170

1.2 Statements

1.2.1 Statements about the Present and the Past

- (4) The indicative mood is used to make a factual statement about the present or the past (for the uses of the different tenses of the indicative, see 4.4); a factual statement is negated with οὐ(κ)/(οὐ)δέν.

Present

λέγω σε τὴν αἰτίαν μου 12th c./11th c., *NIKON, Logos* 9 312.10

συναπαντάει μου ὁ Πόθος 15th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* E 296

Imperfect

ὥς καὶ μαρτύρουν αὐτὰ οἱ καλοὶ ἄνθρωποι
 ?1125, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 18, 417.7

καὶ δίδαμην του γέννημαν 16th c./?, *Paroim.* H 10

Aorist

οὐδὲν ἐπέρασεν ποσῶς καιρὸς μικρὸς κι ὀλίγος 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7944

παρεκάθισε τὴν πόλιν 15th–16th c., ?Peloponnese, SCHREINER 1975/79: 33.III, 252.53.2

NOTE

- (i) The present indicative may be prefixed with νά in vivid narrative. The earliest example in the database is from ca. 13th/14th c. In origin this construction is perhaps a combination of the "historic" present (4.4, Rule 46 and NOTES), employed to bring a story to life "before the reader's eyes", with the deictic/presentative particle νά (cf. French *voici/voilà*), though homophony with the mood marker νά (see 4.3) soon led to "subjunctive" spellings of the verb endings and presumably the conviction that the forms involved were indeed subjunctive:

καὶ τὸ ραβδί ἐπαίξαμεν καὶ κονταροκτυποῦμεν καὶ τὰ φαρία νά πηδοῦν, νά παίζουν τὸ κοντάριν, νά μοιάζῃ πόλεμος σωστὸς καὶ φόνος πρὸς ἀλλήλων
 15th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* V 676–8

1.2.2 Statements about the Future: Possible and Hypothetical Events

Though speakers may be confident about the future occurrence of particular events, the future objectively is an unknown domain and statements about it cannot be strictly factual. "Future events", i.e. those whose occurrence speakers feel able to predict with confidence, therefore form a continuum with modally qualified "possible events", i.e. those whose actual or eventual occurrence speakers are in varying degrees unsure about. Forms denoting futurity and different types of modality (epistemic, deontic, etc.) may have a general/atemporal reading alongside the future one: compare, for example, *will* and *may* in *X will/may happen (tomorrow/in general)*. In present and past time future and modal forms can both be used to speculate about situations whose factual status the speaker is ignorant of, cf. *X may/will be happening (now)*; *X may/will have happened (yesterday)*. In all cases, "future" *will* carries greater conviction than modals such as *may*.

Though any main clause may be tied to a condition, some modal forms effectively presuppose one, whether explicitly stated or contextually implied, e.g. *would* in [*if X happened*] *Y would happen*; [*if X were happening*] *Y would happen/be happening*; [*if X had happened*] *Y would have happened*. Such "remote" conditions (protases) set up situations for abstract/theoretical consideration, i.e. they are, strictly speaking, atemporal, with no commitment to their occurrence in the past, present or future. But they are often used to speculate about the past, present or future when knowledge is lacking or, in past and present time, to consider counterfactual scenarios when the truth is known. The main clause (apodosis) with its "conditional" verb form denotes the "hypothetical" consequence of the potential or impossible fulfilment of the remote condition. In the absence of an inherent temporal reference point, the event of the main clause is typically taken to be "in the future" relative to that of the condition, which is in turn taken to be "in the past" relative to its consequence. "Past-tense" verb forms are therefore typically used in protases and "future-in-the-past" forms in apodoses. Futures/modals marked as "past", like *would* and *might*, distinguish different degrees of conviction about the likelihood of the consequence, given the prior fulfilment of the remote condition, cf. [*if X happened*] *Y would/might happen*.

LMedG/EMG does not distinguish systematically between what "will occur" and what "may/can/shall occur" or between what "would occur" and what "might/could/should occur". Nor does it systematically distinguish what "would etc. occur" (now/in future) from "what would etc. have occurred" (in the past). It does, however, distinguish the language user's subjective view of actions as "bounded" (perfective) or "unbounded" (imperfective), and this aspectual distinction partly characterizes the forms used to refer to future and possible/hypothetical events (for verbal aspect, see 4.4). The details of usage are discussed and exemplified below.

1.2.2.1 Verb Forms Denoting Future/Possible Events

- (5) Reference to future/possible events can be made with periphrases consisting of the present tense of the future/modal auxiliaries μέλλω/ἔχω/(ἐ)θέλω + present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective) infinitive; the negative is οὐ(κ)/οὐδέν, placed before the auxiliary.

Since each auxiliary has its own preferences and restrictions, the three options will be presented separately.

Μέλλω + Infinitive

All examples in the database refer to the future, broadly continuing the ancient use "be going to":

Present Infinitive

μέλλουσιν ἡμᾶς οἱ διώκοντες φθάνειν 13th-14th c./12th c., Dig. G IV.628

μέλλομεν ἔχειν τὸ ἥμισυ 1232, S. Italy, TRINCERA 1865: 286, 396.6

Aorist Infinitive

πάντες μέλλομεν σταθῆν τὴν φοβερὰν ἡμέραν 15th c./12th c., Dig. E 1755

μέλλομεν εἰσελθεῖν 1232, S. Italy, TRINCERA 1865: 176, 231.30-1

NOTES

- (i) μέλλω + inf. occurs mainly in non-literary, legal and official texts. The present infinitive is favoured in the earlier medieval period and the aorist infinitive in the later medieval period with a consequential blurring of the perfective/imperfective opposition throughout.
- (ii) μέλλω + inf. typically carries a strong deontic nuance of "what shall (certainly) be/ what has to be".

Ἐχω + Infinitive

The classical meaning is dynamic ("be able"), but the construction also acquired epistemic/potential, deontic and future uses in Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages.

In the later medieval period, as the corresponding "conditional" εἶχα + infinitive takes on the role of a pluperfect (see 3.3, Rule (34); 4.4), ἔχω in future/modal function is sometimes strengthened through the prefixation of the modal marker ἴνα/νά (with negative μή(ν) placed after the particle). This restricted option is characteristic of lower-register texts and represents the renewal of a form that was increasingly felt to be anomalous with the functional shift of εἶχα + infinitive. It proved to be a temporary expedient, however, and the ἔχω-periphrasis henceforth gives ground steadily to the (ἐ)θέλω-periphrasis (see immediately below).

All examples in the database refer to the future and/or have a generic reading:

Present Infinitive

ἴλλος ἔχει εἶναι εἰς τὸ παλάτιον 9th c., Theophanes, *Chronogr.* 127.13 (ed. De Boor)

ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς ἑτέροις ἔχομεν ἀκολουθεῖν 10th c., *De ceremoniis* II 427.13 (ed. Reiske)

Aorist Infinitive

ἔχεις ... εὐρεῖν καὶ νοήσῃν πάντα, ὅτι εὐκολον ἔχουν τὸ νόημα 12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 9 310.10-11

ἐξαλαφρώσειν ἔχεις τοὺς πόνους 16th c./15th c., LIMEN., *Velis.* (Λ) 557

νὰ ἔχω + Infinitive

ἐπεὶ ἔνι γὰρ κὶ ὁ τόπος σου γυμνὸς ἐκ τὰ φουσσᾶτα,
νὰ τὸν ἐπάρουν εὐκολὰ καὶ νὰ τὸν ἔχῃς χάσει

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4236-7

NOTES

- (i) Use of ἔχω + infinitive as a future had a "low" origin, and though it gained acceptance over time, it is used mainly in literary rather than official texts.
- (ii) Use of ἔχω with both aorist and present infinitives (the latter only rarely) belongs to the early medieval period. Subsequently the aorist infinitive alone is attested, with neutralization of the aspectual contrast.

(Ἐ)θέλω + Infinitive

The principal ancient meaning was "want" and this option was retained. But future, epistemic/potential and deontic uses are all well established by the later medieval period, when the (ἐ)θέλω-periphrasis begins to take over from ἔχω (see above). With animate subjects it is often difficult or impossible to decide whether the intended force is "want to X" or "will X".

The majority of examples in the database refer to the future and/or have a generic reading, but a handful of later examples occur with clear reference to the present in inferential/epistemic use:

Future/Generic

Present Infinitive

ἔως τότε γὰρ θέλεις εἶναι εὐγενής

14th c./11th c., Kekaumenos, *Strategikon* V 298 ccxviii (ed. Roueché)

ὅλοι τὸν θέλουσι γελᾶ, μέμφονται κὶ ὀνειδίζει

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8185

Aorist Infinitive

τολμήσιν θέλω

?12th c. or 13th-14th c., *Eisit.* f.5v.11

θέλει ἰδεῖν ὁ λεγόμενος ἀποκρισιάρης

1498, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 2, 41.12

Present (Inferential/Epistemic)

Present Infinitive

κοιμᾶται θέλει ἀληθινά, γὰρ κείνο δὲν προβαίνει

17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Katz.* I.19

NOTES

- (i) The θέλω-periphrasis is the only one with a fully developed aspectual contrast in the infinitive, reflecting its normalization within the verbal paradigm as the dominant future form in LMedG. Its partial grammaticalization is associated with the appearance of shortened forms of the auxiliary (θές, θέ(ν), θέμε(ν), θέτε, θέν(ε)) from around the 15th c.

- (ii) This is the only infinitival periphrasis used to denote speculations/inferences about the present, a further reflection of its development as the "regular" future tense of later MedG and EMG.
- (6) From ca. 12th-13th c. onwards the infinitival complement may be replaced by a periphrasis consisting of the modal marker *ἵνα/νὰ* + present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective) subjunctive; the negative is οὐ(κ)/(οὐ)δέν, placed before the auxiliary.

Future/Generic

Aorist Subjunctive

τὰ ὄρη ... τὰ μέλλεις νὰ περάσης

16th c./15th c., DELLAP. *Erot. Apokr.* 3147

θέλει νὰ φανῇ ἡ ἀγάπη του

16th c., *Dig.* P VII.386.24

ἔχει νὰ τοῦ ἔλθῃ αὐτὸς ὁ θάνατος

1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 14, 35.5-6

Present Subjunctive

ἡ γνωριμίδα τοὺς κριτάδες θέλει νὰ ἐνῇ τοιοῦτη

16th c./13th c., *Assizes* A 52.21

Present (Inferential/Epistemic)

Present Subjunctive

καὶ αὐτὸς κάτι θέλει νὰ ξεύρῃ ποὺ συντυχαίνει ἔτσι

1653-5, Venice, FONKID 2000: 240, f.1v.8-9

ἐγὼ γελιῶμαι ... ἡ αὐτὴ θέλει νὰ εἶναι ἡ μεγαλύτερη τύχη

18th c., *Don Kis.* 49.16-17

τὸ κοτσὶ θέλει νὰ εἶναι κανενοῦ στρατοκόπου

18th c., *Don Kis.* 49.24

NOTES

- (i) This substitution does not affect νὰ ἔχω + (aorist) infinitive.
- (ii) The present subjunctive is very rare with μέλλω νὰ and ἔχω νὰ, as expected on the basis of their infinitival counterparts (cf. above). Both these periphrases often have strong deontic overtones.
- (iii) Impersonal μέλλει νὰ (sometimes μέλλεται νὰ in Crete and Cyprus) and θέλει νὰ are also found from 14th c., in imitation of the impersonal modal verbs πρέπει, ἐνδέχεται, μπορεί (see 4.3). Both these periphrases may again have strong deontic nuances. Impersonal ἔχει νὰ is very rare.
- (iv) Personal θέλω νὰ in the early part of the later medieval period is normally volitive/modal and so partly distinguished from the mainly "future" θέλω + infinitive. But from ca. 14th c. onwards θέλω νὰ is also used as a future, albeit less frequently than its infinitival counterpart. In the very late medieval and early modern periods, this periphrasis also acquires inferential/epistemic use with present time reference.
- (v) From the 14th c. future/modal θέλω may even be complemented by the modally strengthened infinitival periphrasis νὰ ἔχω + (aorist) infinitive:

καὶ θέλω νὰ σὰς ἔχω εἰπεῖ καὶ νὰ σὰς ἀφηγήσω

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 3140

- (vi) θέλω + “bare” subjunctive appears beside θέλω νά + subjunctive from ca. 14th c., both variants sometimes using the shortened forms of the auxiliary:

θέλου<ν> ἀνακατωθοῦ<ν> οὔλοι οἱ Χριστιανοί 1496, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 9, 61.7

- (vii) From θές νά, θέ(ν) νά etc. an invariant θέ νά eventually evolved in the 15th and 16th c., apparently first in southern areas. The modern θά, first attested in late-16th-c. Crete, represents a further reduction of θέ νά:

θέ νά + subj: καί ὅλα θέ νά πάσου 16th c., Alex. Rim. 385

θά + subj: σήμερο θά σέ στερευτῶ 17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Panor.* I.15

- (7) Reference to future/possible events can also be made with the modal particle ἵνα/νά + present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective) subjunctive; the negative is μή(ν)/μηδέν, placed after ἵνα/νά.

This construction goes back to the Roman imperial period, when it originally had deontic/optative force, but it soon evolved into a general marker of the subjunctive mood with a wide variety of modal functions, including the expression of futurity. It is often difficult to distinguish future use from potential/epistemic (“may/can”) or deontic (“should”) uses.

Present Subjunctive

ἐκεῖ νά σέ ἀναμένω 13th–14th c./12th c., *Dig. G* IV.211

κάθα χρόνο ... νά στελλῇ ... μ' χιλιάδες δουκάτα 1483, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 2, 41.5–6

Aorist Subjunctive

ἐρώτα καί νά μάθῃς 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 137

ἅμα τὸ φορέσει, εἰς γῆν νά πέσῃ ἐκ τὸ ἄλογον 15th–16th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* α 2992–3

ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν καὶ ἐμπροσθεν Φράγκος νά μὴ μᾶς βιάσῃ ν' ἀλλάξωμεν τὴν πίστιν μας 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 2093–4

NOTES

- (i) Νά (μή(ν)) + subjunctive may also be read as a command or a wish if the context permits (see Rules (13), (14) and (20)).
- (ii) Use of this construction as a future declines during the later medieval period as the θέλω-periphrasis and its later reflexes become more dominant in this function.
- (iii) In strong denials οὐ μή(ν) + subjunctive may be used; νά is normally absent, but if used, follows the negation:

1 sg. ποτέ σας ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ρόγαν οὐ μὴ σᾶς δώσω 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5116

2 sg. ἀπάνω εἰς τὴν ψυχίτσα μου δόλον οὐ μὴ νά ἔχῃς 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4065

3 sg. ἂν δέ ζητήσης ... γυναῖκαν νά με πάρῃς, οὐ μὴ θελήσῃ ὁ πατέρας σου 15th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* L 649

- (8) At the very end of the period covered by this Grammar speculative/inferential reference to the past (= “will have done X (I suppose)”) may be made using θέλει, probably impersonally in all cases, + aorist indicative.

πλήν ... εἰς Κορυφούς θέλει ἀλλάχθησαν

1681, Ioannina, VELOUDIS 1987: 9, 304, f.1v.13–14

θέλει ἐμετέβαλεν αὐτοὺς τοὺς γίγαντας εἰς εἶδος ἀνεμομύλων

18th c., *Don Kis.* 46.15–16

1.2.2.2 Verb Forms Denoting Hypothetical/Conditional Events

As we have seen, hypothetical conditions and their consequences can be used to speculate “theoretically” about the past, present and future, or “counterfactually” about the past and present. Languages differ, however, in the extent to which real-world time reference is marked in the “conditional” verb forms employed. LMedG/EMG makes no clear temporal distinctions in such cases (the “past tense” of the protasis and the “future-in-the-past” of the apodosis being mutually relative tenses, see above), and relies instead on choice of aspect and context.

Verb forms built to the present/imperfective or aorist/perfective stems are used to reflect the speaker's decision to present an eventuality as unbounded (e.g. continuous/progressive/habitual) or bounded (i.e. a single complete whole). Reference to the present moment, which “progresses” with time, is normally made with an imperfective form on its “progressive” reading, and reference to “general” states of affairs with an imperfective form on its “habitual” reading, cf. *X is happening (now)* with *X happens (usually)*. By contrast, though past and future eventualities may readily be viewed both imperfectively and perfectly, the perfective view is the default case. Thus a LMedG/EMG conditional expression containing an imperfective verb form is typically taken to refer to the present or to a general state of affairs, and one containing a perfective form to the past or the future, with the context discriminating between the two temporal readings. But it is important to remember that this is not necessarily so and that past and future events may also be viewed imperfectively (as continuous/progressive or habitual), just as actions in the present may be viewed perfectly. Equally, some conditional periphrases, like their future counterparts, do not display a full aspectual contrast, and in these cases the reader is required to fall back on context alone.

The following examples of the conditional periphrasis with εἶχα, which is used almost exclusively with aorist/perfective infinitives, should help to clarify. The same construction may be understood in context to refer to the past, present or future:

Past

ἂν ... οὐδέν ἦλθεν ..., οὐδέν εἶχεν ἐξαναστρέψει 16th c./13th c., *Assizes A* 91.26–7

“if he had not come (then), he would not have returned (later)”

Present

ἂν οὐ σέ γάπουν τὰ πολλά, τώρα σκοτώσει σέ ῥα

15th–16th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* N 1571

"if I didn't love you so much, I would kill you now"

Future

ἂν ἤξερες πῶς ἀφτουσι τὰ φύλλα τῆς καρδιάς μου ... κρίνω πῶς μ' εἶχες κλαίγει ...
CHORTATIS, *Katz*. I.2-3

"if you were to know..., I think that you would weep for me"

- (9) Reference to hypothetical events can be made with a conditional periphrasis consisting of the imperfect tense of the future/modal auxiliaries *ἔμελλον/εἶχα/ἤθελα* + present (imperfective) infinitive or aorist (perfective) infinitive; the negative is *οὐ(κ)/(οὐ)δέν*, placed before the auxiliary.

Ἐμελλον/ἔμελλα + Infinitive

Present Infinitive

ἐν τῷ ἔσθιεν τὴν Ἀγάπην *ἔμελλεν κλαίειν* 12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 2 150.9
μέλλει διαδέχεσθαι 1102, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 16, 210.43

Aorist Infinitive

τούτους *ἔμελλεν γάρ κτεῖναι* 15th c./14th c., ERMON., *Ilias* 3.171
ἔμελλον προσμεῖναι εἰς τὴν Τραπεζοῦντα 16th c./15th c., SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 108.12

NOTES

- (i) This is very much a residual construction in later medieval Greek, used mainly with aorist (perfective) infinitives and typically with a strong deontic nuance ("should/should have").
- (ii) From ca. 14th–15th c. the infinitive may be replaced by *νά* + present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective) subjunctive, the former largely restricted to inherently stative verbs that lack aorist stems.
- (iii) Impersonal *ἔμελλε νά* (*ἔμέλλετον νά* in the south-west) is a common option, and is occasionally complemented by a past-tense indicative (imperfect or aorist) in place of a subjunctive.

Εἶχον/εἶχα + Infinitive

Present Infinitive

ἀγωνιᾶν εἶχες καὶ ἀδημονεῖν 14th c./11th c., Kekaumenos, *Strategikon* 296, 13–14 (ed. Litavrin)
παρηγοριά δὲν εἶχε ἴσται τούτῃ στὰ βάσανά μου 17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Panor.* I.183

Aorist Infinitive

οὐκ ἂν εἰς οἶκον μᾶς ποτε *εἶχετε πορευθῆναι* 13th–14th c./12th c., Dig. G I.275
τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν Ρωμαίων *κληρονομήσειν εἶχεν* 15th c./14th c., Velis. χ 371–2

NOTES

- (i) Present (imperfective) infinitives are increasingly rare with *εἶχον/εἶχα* in the later medieval period, and the verbs attested tend to be inherently stative, i.e. without aorist (perfective) stems.
- (ii) The majority of examples of *εἶχον/εἶχα* + inf. in the later medieval period occur in the protases of hypothetical/counterfactual conditional sentences, where the shift to pluperfect use originated (see 3.3 and 4.4), and most of the examples in main clauses follow an overt conditional of this type, i.e. as apodoses.
- (iii) *Εἶχον/εἶχα νά* + subjunctive (aorist) is a rare variant, occurring in texts from southern areas.
- (iv) *Εἶχον/εἶχα* + "bare" subjunctive (present or aorist) occurs in late medieval/early modern texts from south-western regions; impersonal *εἶχε* is also attested in a handful of early modern texts from this area.
- (v) *Εἶχον/εἶχα* + a past-tense indicative (imperfect, more rarely aorist) is also found on occasion.
- (vi) *Εἶχον/εἶχα* + infinitive may be strengthened through prefixation of the modality marker *νά* (negative *μή(ν)* after the particle).

Ἦθελον/ἤθελα + Infinitive

Present Infinitive

ἠθέλαμεν εἶχει καὶ ὀλιγότερον κόπον εἰς τὰς γραφάς 1456, Patras, MALTEZOU 1983: 2, 22.9
ἠθέλα βλέπει κείνην 15th–16th c./15th c., *Theseid* III.75,6 (1529)

Aorist Infinitive

οὐδέναν (βιβλίον) ἠθέλεν εὐρεθῆ ?post 1356, Berat/Albania, ALEXOULIS 1892: 1, 276.18
στραφῆν ἠθέλουν ἄπρακτοι 15th c./14th c., Velis. χ 215

NOTES

- (i) The imperfective/perfective aspectual contrast is well established in this periphrasis, with the present (imperfective) infinitive used much more widely than with *μέλλω/ἔχω*, even with non-stative verbs.
- (ii) *Ἦθελον/ἤθελα νά* + present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective) subjunctive mainly has a volitive meaning, but is sometimes also used as a conditional, particularly in texts after 15th c.
- (iii) From ca. 14th c. *ἠθέλον/ἤθελα* may be complemented by bare subjunctives, present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective). Impersonal *ἠθέλε(ν)* also occurs from 15th c. Occasionally this combination is prefixed with the modality marker *νά*:
καὶ ἃ μοῦ ἤθελε λείπει καὶ τούτῃ, φόρσα νά ἤθελα ντεσπεραριστῶ 1625, Crete (Chandax), MAVROMATIS 1986, 6, 79.14–15

- (iv) The modally strengthened combination *νά* *ἔχω* + (aorist) infinitive may also be used to complement *ἤθελον/ἤθελα*:

ἤθελε νά ἔχη ἀποχωρήσει

15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 5785

- (v) *ἤθελον/ἤθελα* (± *νά*) may also be complemented by past-tense indicatives (imperfect, less commonly aorist), especially in texts from the Heptanese.

- (vi) A reduced/invariable form *ἤθε(ν)*, usually with a bare subjunctive complement, is attested in mainly later texts from southern areas.

- (10) Reference to hypothetical events can also be made with the modal particle *ἴνα/νά* + imperfect (past imperfective) indicative or aorist (past perfective) indicative; the negative is *μή(ν)/μηδέν* placed after the particle.

νά + Imperfect

ἂν ... κ' ἐνίκησέ με εἰς πόλεμον, παρηγορίαν

νά τὸ εἶχα

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5005–7

στήν μέσην του νά ἔβανες ὥραϊον δακτυλιδίστιν

16th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* O 63

κι ἂς ἦμουν ρογεμένοι, νά 'τρωγα καί

νά χόρταινα

17th c./16th c., *CHORTATIS, Katz.* III.108–9

νά + Aorist

καί ὁ βλέπων νά εἶδεν ἔνωσιν ἀστέρων

δύο μεγάλων

?12th c. or 13th–14th c., *Eisit.* f.4r.3

ἂν ... ὁ πρίγκιπας ... νά εἶχε ... κουρσέψει ..., ὁ

Μέγας ὁ Δεμέστικος ἀργά νά ἐφουσσάτεψεν

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4876–80

ἔαν εἶχαμεν τὴν δύναμιν, νά ἐποιήσαμεν τὸ ὁμάτζιον!

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7910

νά 'πες οὐκ ἐφάνησαν ποτὲ στὸν κόσμον

15th c., *Rim. than.* 52 ms

- (11) The bare imperfect indicative is also used as a conditional, usually, though not invariably, when a co-occurring conditional clause indicates the required (hypothetical) reading; the negative is *οὐ(κ)/(οὐ)δέν*.

ἔαν μᾶς παρατρέψουν, ἔχαναμεν τὸν πόλεμον

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5368–9

ὀλίγους καλλιώτερους ἡὔρισκες τοῦ Νεστόρου

15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1451

ἂν εἶχε ζῇ ὁ Ἑκτορας ..., οὐκ ἐφοβούμεθαν νά

χάσωμεν ἀπ' αὐτοὺς

15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 9871–2

ἂν εἶχεν τὸ ξεύρειν ὁ ἀποστολὴς ..., δὲν

ἀφῆνεν νά τοὺς πάρει

16th c./15th c., *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 32.7–8

NOTES

- (i) Less commonly, the aorist indicative is also used as a conditional. Since the action described in the main clause cannot precede that of the conditional clause in real time, the aorist here can only be interpreted as denoting a hypothetical/counterfactual consequence of the fulfilment of the condition:

ἂν μόνον ἀνενδράνισες, τὸ πρόσωπον ἂν εἶδες, ἐσείσθης ὅλην σου ψυχὴν, ὅλην σου τὴν καρδίαν

16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 817–18

μ' ἂν εἶχεν εἶσται κι ἄσκημος, τότες, τὴν ὥρα κείνη σὰν ἤβαλε τὸν πόθο της, πολλὰ ὁμορφος ἐγίνη

18th c./16th–17th c., *KORNAROS, Erot.* II.549–50

- (ii) Conditional use of the imperfect arises from confusion of past habituality with conditionality, as also reflected in the two uses of English *would*, cf. *if ever X happened (at any times in the past/at any times in the non-past), Y would happen*. This is based on a failure to distinguish between real and relative time reference in conditional sentences and on the temporal non-specificity of both repeated/habitual and “pure” hypothetical eventualities (i.e. when not tied speculatively/counterfactually to real-world situations). Contrast the following example with those cited above:

κι ἂν ἤθε φάγω τὸ φαγί, εἰς πίκρα ἤφερονέ με κι ἂν ἤθε πιῶ καὶ τὸ πιστόν, εἰς ζάλη γύριζέ με

17th c., *PROSOPSAS, Peri tyflou* 103–4

Here the “conditional” in the protasis has a habitual sense and the imperfect in the apodosis denotes a series of events at indefinite intervals in the past. In LMedG/EMG the “habitual” imperfect was extended to conditional use just as “conditionals” were sometimes extended to habitual use.

- (iii) The conditional imperfect is used wherever other conditional forms occur, and as a consequence, though its form is necessarily invariant, it may carry both imperfective and perfective readings.

1.3 Commands and Prohibitions

- (12) Commands in the second person, singular and plural, may be expressed by the imperative, present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective).

2 sg. Present Imperative

πρὸ πάντων ἔχε τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν φόβον

13th–14th c./?12th c., *Spaneas* P 1

2 pl. Present Imperative

τοῖνυν ὑπάγετε καλῶς

16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 242

2 sg. Aorist Imperative

ἄπαξ τὸν πόνον ἔπαρε καὶ ἀπομερίμνησέ το

13th c./12th c., *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 212

2 pl. Aorist Imperative

δεκτεῖτε καὶ ἐμένα

16th c., *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 350.20

NOTE

- (i) The aspectual contrast in imperatives is between ordering repeated or continuing activity (or the inception of such activity = "start doing X") and ordering specific, complete actions. There may, however, be morphological gaps in the paradigms of particular verbs that restrict the options in specific cases.

(13) Commands may also be expressed by the modal particle *νά* + present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective) subjunctive; 2nd-person forms are broadly equivalent to imperatives, but 3rd-person forms are also widely used, often in legal contexts such as wills etc.

2 sg. Present Subjunctive

νά τὸ ἐξεύρης ὅτι ἡμεῖς μέλλομεν τοῦ ἀπελθεῖν
14th c., Cyprus, KODER et al. 2001: 245, 436.164–5

2 pl. Present Subjunctive

νά ἡξεύρετε ... ὅτι ἐγὼ τοῦ Ἄδου τὰ καταχθόνια ἀφόρισα
16th c., *Diig. Alex. F* 12.2–3 (Konstantinopulos)

2 sg. Aorist Subjunctive

τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ... *νά* τὴν *πέμψης* τὸν ἀββᾶν Γεράσιμον
12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 9 314.15–16

2 pl. Aorist Subjunctive

νά σπουδάξετε *νά* ἔλθετε
1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 3, 174.45

3 sg. Present Subjunctive

καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία *νά* δίδῃ τὴν λύσιν
ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 33.80–1

3 pl. Present Subjunctive

ὅλα *νά* τὰ *ἔχουν* χωρὶς τινὸς λόγου
1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.25–6

3 sg. Aorist Subjunctive

οἷος δὲ φανῇ εἰς ἀναζήτησιν ... *νά* δώσῃ καὶ πρόστιμαν
13th c., Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 20, 9.6–7

3 pl. Aorist Subjunctive

νά μὲ *λαζαρώσουν* ὥσπερ τοὺς ὅλους καλογέρους
ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 81.52

NOTES

- (i) The sense of *νά* + subjunctive in deontic use is similar to that of the English future/conditional in related function, cf. *you, s/he, they* shall/should *do X*. But it may be hard to distinguish commands from wishes in specific cases (cf. 1.5), and in 3 sg./pl. the deontic meaning is also very close to that of *ἄς* + subjunctive (see Rule (15) NOTE (ii) below).

- (ii) 2 pl. imperatives and 2 pl. subjunctives may be indistinguishable if traditional "subjunctive" spellings are not employed in a given text; there is therefore some indeterminacy about the relevant examples.
- (iii) Periphrastic forms used to refer to the future (see 1.2.2, Rules (5) and (6)) may also be used deontically, as expected. In this case 1 sg./pl. forms of the relevant auxiliaries are used alongside those of 2nd/3rd person, though it is often difficult to distinguish expressions of obligation or necessity from assertions of future intent, cf. *I must/will do X*:

περάσειν ἔχω ... τὸ ποτάμι
15th c./12th c., *Dig. E* 1532
καὶ τοῦτο θέλει νά γένη
1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 285.5–6
σήμερο ... ἔχω ν' ἀποθάνω
17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Erof. V* 285

- (14) Corresponding prohibitions are sometimes expressed with *μή(ν)/μηδέν* and the present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective) imperative, though the aorist is exceedingly rare; prohibitions are regularly expressed by *μή(ν)/μηδέν* + present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective) subjunctive, sometimes prefixed with *νά*.

Imperative

Present Imperative

καὶ *μή* *λογίζου* παρ' ἡμῶν λυπηρὸν ὑποστῆναι
13th–14th c./12th c., *Dig. G IV* 699
τότε *μή* *ζήτει* φυσικῆς ἀκολουθίας τάξιν
16th c./15th c., DELLAP. *Erot. apokr.* 2986
μή *θέλε* μανθάνειν ἢ ἀκούειν
15th–16th c., *Vios Aisop. E* 288.18
ὅπου φιλεῖς *μή* δάνειζε, καὶ ὅπου ἀγαπᾷς *μή* σύχναζε
16th c./15th c., *Paroim. H* 13

Aorist Imperative

μή ... *κρίνατε* κρίσιν
16th c./15th c., DELLAP. *Erot. apokr.* 1120
μή *γένε* σὺ ἀνελεήμονος
16th c., *Diig. Alex. K* 365.32

NOTE

- (i) *Μή* + aorist imperative was ungrammatical in AG and the number of possible examples in the Grammar database is very small. We may reasonably doubt whether this was ever a "normal" option in LMedG/EMG.

Bare Subjunctive

Present Subjunctive

κανεῖς *μή* σὲ *κομπῶν*
15th c./12th c., *Ptoch. (Maiuri)* 45
παγαίνετε ἀπὸ τὸν τόπον μου, ἐδῶ *μηδέν* ἀργῆτε
15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1418 app. crit. (A)

Aorist Subjunctive

καὶ μὴ τολμήσης νὰ τὸ εἰπῇς ἀνθρώπου γεννημένου 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8217
 μηδὲν πένης ἀτυχούς καὶ χάσης πολλὰ 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* O 22.35–6

Nα μή(ν) + Subjunctive

Present Subjunctive

καὶ νὰ μὴ φοβᾶται καὶ αὐτός 17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 30.8

Aorist Subjunctive

ποσῶς νὰ μὴ ἀλαζονευτῇς 15th–16th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* N 937

NOTE

- (i) In 3 sg./pl. forms the meaning is very close to that of ἄς μή(ν) + subjunctive (see Rule (15) NOTE (ii)).

- (15) Speaker-inclusive “exhortation” in 1 pl. and speaker-exclusive “encouragement” in 3rd person (normally with overtones of permission/acquiescence) are expressed with the particle ἄς (< aorist imperative of ἀφήνω “let”) + present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective) subjunctive; the negative is μή(ν), placed after the particle.

1 pl.

βουλή ἄς ἔχωμε ἀμφοτέροι 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 2838
 ἐνταῦτα στρέμμα ἄς ποιήσωμεν ἀπέσω εἰς τὴν Πόλιν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 838
ἄς ποῦμεν ἄλλον τίβοτας νὰ πάρω σὰν ἄερα 16th c./15th c., FALIEROS, *Log. did.* 257

3 sg./pl.

καὶ ὁ χρήζων το ἄς τὸ ἐπάρη καὶ ὁ μὴ χρήζων το ἄς τὸ ἀφήσῃ
 12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 9 312.14–15
 οἶος δὲ φανῇ εἰς ἀναζήτησιν ..., ἄς ἔχῃ τὸ ἀνάθεμα
 13th c., Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 20, 9.6–7
 πάντες ἄς ἔλθωσιν, ἄς φθάσωσιν, ἄς περισυναχθῶσιν 15th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* V 17

NOTES

- (i) The present (imperfective) subjunctive is comparatively rare in this construction, and occurs mostly with verbs that lack an aorist (perfective) stem.
 (ii) In 3 sg./pl. forms the meaning of ἄς + subjunctive tends to merge with that of νὰ + subjunctive, cf. [if X happens], let him do Y/he should do Y, and consider the following example where the two types are conjoined:

ἄς ἔχῃ τὸ ἀνάθεμα καὶ νὰ δώσῃ καὶ πρόστιμαν
 Pontos, 13th c., OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 20, 9.6–7

1.4 Questions and Exclamations

1.4.1 Questions

- (16) Constituent questions (introduced by an expression containing an interrogative pronoun/adverb) regularly use forms of the indicative, including “future” and “conditional” periphrases, with negative οὐ(κ)/(οὐ)δέν.

For questions containing verb forms marked with νὰ, see Rule (18).

The phrase containing the interrogative element normally functions as a single constituent and stands initially in its clause; the verb is often attracted, coming immediately after it (only weak object pronouns may intervene). Occasionally, however, the interrogative pronoun/adverb stands alone in initial position, leaving the remainder of the interrogative constituent in place.

Present

τί θλίβεσαι τοσούτως; 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4903
 τίνα δίκαιον ἔχει ὁ ρήγας μετὰ σας ...; 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 258.35–6

Past (Aorist)

πῶς ἡ καρδιά σου ἐβάσταξεν, ὑπόμεινε ἡ ψυχὴ σου ...; 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 12227
 πῶς μᾶς ἐπαρατήθητε ...; 16th c., GLYKYS, *Penth. Than.* 70

Future/Modal

ποῖα μέλλει νὰ ᾔχῃ πλερωμὴ ἡ ἐδικὴ μου ἀγάπη;
 17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Panor.* IV.178
 πῶς ἔχω νὰ τὸ χάσω; 17th c., KONDAR., *Paidēs* 322

NOTES

- (i) Since all the future-referring periphrases also have modal readings (see Rule (5)), there is uncertainty about the interpretation of many examples.
 (ii) Constituent questions may also contain various forms of conditional periphrasis, as expected (see Rule (9)), with related uncertainties of interpretation:
 ἂν ἔλειπε ἡ πανιερότη σου, ἴτα εἶχα ἐγὼ γίνε;
 1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 4, 171.15–16
 (iii) Rhetorical questions have the same form as genuine requests for information:
 ἀφότου ἔφυγεν δίχα νὰ πολεμήσῃ ..., πῶς ἡμποροῦμε ἡμεῖς ... νὰ βλάψωμεν τὸν τόπον;
 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 9177–81

- (17) Yes/no questions also employ indicatives, including future/modal and conditional periphrases; negation with οὐ(κ)/(οὐ)δέν forms a question that expects a positive answer; μή(ν)/μήνα (“perhaps”, “by any chance”) may be prefixed to a yes/no question for politeness.

For questions containing verb forms marked with νὰ, see Rule (18).

Positive

ἤκουσές το;

ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973, 59.148

ἔχουν μισόν;

post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 44, 38.4–5

Negative

οὐ ξεύρεις εἰς ἐριζικὸν κοίτεται ἡ στρατεία;14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4904οὐδὲν ἐντρέπεστε ποσῶς νὰ παιζώμε ὡς κοπέλια;14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5394

+ μήν(α)

μήνα ἔχεις τίποτε βιβλίο νέο νὰ μοῦ πουλήσης;16th c., ZINOS, *Vatr. Prol.* 1μήν εἶδες, ἄγιε τοῦ Θεοῦ, καμία ... γυναῖκα ... νὰ περάση;17th c., MONTSEL., *Evgena* 1187–8

NOTE

- (i) It is a moot point whether the verb forms used after μήν(α) should be regarded as simple indicatives (as with SMG μήπως in this role), or as modal (as perhaps reflected in the variant μήνα if this is indeed < μή + νὰ rather than a remodelling based on the use of semantically related elements such as τάχα).

- (18) Questions of both kinds about the future also use νὰ + present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective) subjunctive, with negative μή(ν) placed after the particle; the same construction is used for deliberative/speculative questions and the usual uncertainties of interpretation arise ("who will X?", "who is to X?", "who can/may X?" etc.).

The phrase containing the interrogative pronoun/adverb normally functions as a single constituent and stands initially in its clause; the verb is often attracted, coming immediately after it (only νὰ, μή(ν) and weak object pronouns may intervene).

ποῖον μαντάτον νὰ ὑπάγωμεν τὴν ταπεινὴν μας μάνα;15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 93ποῦ νὰ κρυβοῦν τὰ κάλλη σου ... καὶ πότε ... νὰ σὲ δῶ, πότε νὰ σὲ συντύχω, πότε ... νὰ φιλήσω τὰ ἐρωτικά σου κάλλη;15th c., *Achil.* L 1307–9ἴντα βουλή νὰ κάμωμε, τί στράτα νὰ κρατοῦμε ...;16th c., *Fyll. gadar.* 10aἂν πάθης ἐσύ τίποτε, τίς νὰ μὲ παρηγορήσῃ;16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 26.15 (Konstantinopulos)νὰ εἶναι οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐτοῦτοι θεοί;16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 40.4–6 (Konstantinopulos)τοῦτοι ... τάχα νὰ εἶναι ἄνθρωποι;16th c., PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 111.36–7

NOTE

- (i) Various forms of conditional may also be used in deliberative/speculative questions about the past, present or future, again with the usual uncertainties of interpretation:

τά σκεῦη τά πανάγια καὶ ποῦ νὰ καταντήσαν;15th c., *Anak. Konst.* 1–11ποιόν νὰ εἶχε πιάσῃ καὶ ὁ ἄγας; ποιόν νὰ ἤθελε φονέψῃ;17th c., BOUBOULIS, *Limbon.* 423

1.4.2 Exclamations

- (19) Interrogative pronouns/adverbs may be used with adjectives and adverbs to form exclamations; the verb is indicative if one is present.

τί φοβερός ὁ τόπος ἐτοῦτος!16th c., *Pent. Gen.* 28.17ἴντα κανίσκιν ἄσκημο μ' ἔχεις κανισκεμένη!17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Erof.* V.398πόσον καλὰ ὅπου ἔκαμεν ὁ πατέρας σου!

17th c., Bertoldin. 129.1–2

NOTE

- (i) Other forms of exclamation include the following:

νὰ + subjunctive:

νὰ λέουν ὁκάποιος φτωχὸς ... ἐνίκησεν τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν ἀδελφὸν ...!14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5008–9

"to have people say that some pauper defeated the king's brother!"

καλὰ "well" (used ironically) followed by a clause introduced by the "factive" complementizer πού (see 2.1, Rule (24)):

καλὰ πού τις γνωρίζω!17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Katz.* I.93

1.5 Wishes

- (20) Wishes for the future use νὰ + present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective) subjunctive; the negative is μή(ν) placed after the particle. Since this construction also has a wide range of future/modal readings (see Rules (7), (13), (14)), ἄμποτε(ς) or μακάρι(ον) may be prefixed for clarity.

1 sg. νὰ μηδὲ τῆς μητέρας μου εὐχὴν κληρονομήσω15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 9072 sg. βίον εἰρηνικὸν νὰ ζήσης, νὰ περάσης17th c., PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O Prol. 53 sg. καὶ ὅστις εὐρέθῃ ἐμποδίζειν ... νὰ ἔχῃ τὸ ἀνάθεμα παρὰ πατρός υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος

1146, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XIV: 5, 619.4–6

κακὸν νὰ μὴ σᾶς ἔλθῃ15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1440ἡ γευχὴ τοῦ πανιερότη σου νὰ μ' ὀξιώσῃ νὰ ἔρθω

1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 5, 173.21–2

3 pl. Κύριε Θεέ, ... θηρία νὰ μὲ διαμοιραστοῦν15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 902–4

+ ἄμποτε

2 sg. ἄμποτε ... νὰ πάρῃς καλορριζικίαν, ἄμποτε καὶ τοῦ στέμματος νὰ γένῃςκληρονόμος, νὰ μηδὲ πάρῃς θάνατον15th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* L 238–433 sg. ἄμποτε νὰ παρακληθῇ15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 1353

- all pl. ἄμποτε νὰ γράψω, νὰ γράφοις, νὰ γράφοι· ἄμποτε νὰ γράψωμεν, νὰ γράψαιτε, νὰ γράφουν 16th c., SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 55.16–17
- + μακάρι
2 sg. μαγάρι νὰ ἔβρης στράτα 17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, *Katz* IV.214
3 sg. μακάρι μὴ λουρδίζεσαι μετὰ [δισ]σὰ ματίτσια 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 241
μακάρι μὴ νοήση 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* IV 420
μαγάρι ἐδὰ νὰ συβαστῇ, μαγάρι νὰ τὸ θέλῃ, μαγάρι ἐσένα ... γυναῖκα νὰ σοῦ μέλλῃ 18th c./16th–17th c., KORNAOS, *Erot.* V.227–8

NOTES

- (i) The negative μὴ(ν) may sometimes be used without a preceding νὰ, as in the examples with μακάρι above and often also in 1 sg./pl. wishes, where the “strong” negative οὐ μὴ(ν) can be employed; since οὐ μὴ(ν) is also used in strong denials (cf. Rule (7) NOTE (iii)), the reader must be alert to the requirements of the context:

- καὶ οὐ μὴ μεμφῶ τέως εἰς τοῦτο παρὰ τῆς ἀγιοσύνης σου 12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 9 312.4–5
καὶ οὐ μὴ χαρῶ τὴν περισσὴν ἀγάπην ἐδική σου 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 908
μαντᾶτον οὐ μὴ μάθωμεν, ὅταν σὰς θέλουν σφάζει 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1441
φύγε ἀπὸ τὰ ὀμμάτια μου καὶ μὴν σὲ ἰδῶ πλέον 17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 37.21–3

- (ii) The aorist (perfective) subjunctive is far more common in wishes than the present (imperfective) subjunctive, which occurs regularly only with verbs that lack an aorist stem or at least make little use of their aorist stem.
- (iii) Given the semantic overlaps (cf. Rule (15) NOTE (ii)), ἄς sometimes appears in place of νὰ, though it is often impossible to discriminate between a wish and an expression of permission/encouragement:

- ἄς γένηται κατὰθεσις με τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν φόβον 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7921

- (21) Less hopeful wishes for the future and counterfactual wishes for the present and past use νὰ + the imperfect/aorist indicative (see Rule (10)) or νὰ + one of the infinitival conditional periphrases (see Rule (9)). The negative is μὴ(ν), and the particle νὰ may be omitted when the negative is present; once again, ἄμποτε(ς) or μακάρι(ον) may be prefixed.

νὰ + Past Indicative

- imperf. 1 sg. νὰ ἔξευρα πιδὼν τὴν σωτηρίαν 16th c./15th–16th c., *Cypr. Canz.* 100.31
imperf. 2 sg. σ' τοῦτους τοὺς γάμους νὰ 'σου, νὰ θώρειες τὰ παλάτια σου, νὰ βλεπες τὰ παιδιὰ σου 17th c., TROILOS, *Rodol.* IV.83–4

- imperf. 3 sg. νὰ ἦσουν πούπετες 17th c., MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 1531
imperf. 3 pl. νὰ γιανγέρνασι οἱ χρόν' οἱ περασμένοι 17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, *Panor.* I.255
aor. 1 sg. σήμερον νὰ ἀπόθανα 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 159
aor. 3 sg. ὁ Θεὸς μὴ τὸ ἔποικεν! 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5368
καὶ ὁ Κύριος νὰ ἀφῆκε ζωὴ του χρόνους πολλοὺς 1383, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 89, 98.1–4
νὰ μοῦ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς ἐτουτηνὰν τὴν χάριν 15th c., *Peri xen.* 237

νὰ + Conditional Periphrasis

- 2 sg. νὰ 'χες μ' ἀφήσειν πάντα κοιμισμένοι 16th c./15th–16th c., *Cypr. Canz.* 12.11
νὰ ἤθελες ἐβλέπῃ τόσα κακὰ ποῦ κάμνουν ... τότε νὰ ἤθελες ἰδεῖ, νὰ ἤθελες πιστεύσῃ, τοὺς ἄτυχους ἤθελες ξολοθρεύσῃ 17th c., MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 1531–4
3 sg. νὰ 'χεν ἀστράψει ὁ οὐρανός, νὰ 'χε καγῆν ἡ ὥρα ὅταν ἐμένα ἐγέννησεν ἡ ταπεινὴ μου μάνα 15th c., *Peri xen.* 186–7
νὰ 'χεν βρεθῇ κακὸν θεργίον, ἐκείνον νὰ 'χεν φάγειν 17th–18th c./17th c., KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 70

+ ἄμποτε

- 1 pl. ἄμποτε νὰ ἀξιῶθῃμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς νὰ ἐπηγαίναμεν ἐκεῖ ... καὶ νὰ ζώσαμεν ἐκείνην τὴν μακαρίαν ζωὴν ... καὶ νὰ ἐβλέπαμεν ἐκεῖνο τὸ φῶς 16th c., PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 106.31–8

+ μακάρι(ον)

- 2 sg. μακάριον τε τὸ χάλασες, νὰ τὸ 'χες ἀφανίσει 16th c./15th c., *Defi. Par.* 271
μαγάρι καὶ πρωτύερας νὰ 'θελες μοῦ γρικήσει 17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, *Katz* II.319

NOTES

- (i) These wishes all take the form of conditional protases where the εἶχα + infinitive periphrasis found a natural home (see 3.3), thus making it the preferred option when an infinitival periphrasis is employed.
- (ii) Once again, ἄς may sometimes be substituted for νὰ:

- ἄς εἶχα μάτια σκοτεινὰ ... καὶ ἄς εἶχα σιδερὴ καρδιά 17th c./16th–17th c., *Thysia Avr.* 209–10

2 Complement Clauses

Subordinate clauses may function either as complements (elements whose presence is required by the main verb) or as adjuncts (modifying adverbial or adjectival elements whose presence is optional, see Chapter 3), and may be marked as such in various ways (e.g. through the use of a particular conjunction, mood or verb form). This chapter deals with clauses that complement various verb classes.

2.1 Verbs of "Reporting" and "Declaring"

(22) After verbs that report a speech, emotional response or perception, declare a belief or attest to knowledge (e.g. "say", "announce", "rejoice", "hear", "see", "think", "believe", "learn", "know" etc.) the regular form of sentential complementation in LMedG/EMG is a finite clause introduced by the complementizers *ὅτι* or *πώς* (in early or more learned texts sometimes also *ὥς*).

Such clauses normally contain either a past- or present-tense form of the indicative, or a future-referring or conditional verb form.

The tense of the "original" direct speech may always be retained, but the time reference of the verb in a complement clause may optionally be aligned to that of a past-tense main verb (*consecutio temporum* or "sequence of tenses").

The tense of the verb in the complement clause is given before each set of examples below.

Non-past Main Verb

Future

θαρροῦμεν ὥς ἵνα ἔλθῃ ὁ αὐτὸς κύρ Μιχαήλ
14th–15th c., Athos, LEFORT et al. 1995: 95, 147.4

Present

ἤξευρέτε ὅτι οἱ φρερήδες ... εὐρίσκονται ἔσσω τοῦ ἀφέντη!
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., Chron. A 4.10–11

ἤξευρε πὼς ἐγὼ ὀνομάζομαι ὁ δὸν Κισότης τῆς Μαντίας 18th c., Don Kis. 51.12–13

Aorist

γίνωσκε ... ὅτι οὐκ ἐγένετο ποτὲ δοῦλος πολλῶν κυρίων
15th c./12th c., Ptoch. (Maiuri) 14–15

ὁμολογᾷ ... πὼς ἐπῆρε καὶ ἐπαράλαβε ... ὑπέρπυρα ὀκτώ
1623, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1998: 6, 312.1–2

Tense of Original Retained after Past-Tense Main Verb

Future

εἶπαν ... ὅτι νὰ πᾶσιν ... εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν τῆς ρήγαινας καὶ νὰ σκοτώσουν τὸν κοντοστάβλην
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., Chron. A 56.15–17

ἐθιόρκισέν τον ὅτι νὰ μὲν θελήσει ποττέ νὰ ποίσει τίτιον κακόν
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., Chron. A 34.6–7

ἐθαρροῦσεν ὁ ἀρχιμανδρίτης πὼς ... νὰ μᾶς φοβερίσει
1709, Chios, PAPAISTRATOU 1981: 34, 137.127–9

Present

ἐχαίρετο ὅτι εἶν' ἔμορφος, μετὰ τῆς ποθητῆς του 15th c./12th c., Dig. E 596

ἐγροίκεσε ὅτι ἔχει τὴ χάριν αὐτῇ 16th c., Nov. II 161.12

Aorist

καὶ εἶπαν του πὼς ὁ Θούμας ἐπέσεν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., Chron. A 4.17

Conditional

ἐμάθαμεν πὼς τὸ ... καράβι νὰ ἐπνίκεν καὶ εἶχαμεν φορτώσει εἰς αὐτὸ μαλλιά ..., καὶ ὕστερα ἀκούσαμε πὼς νὰ ἐβγαλαν τὰ πράγματα δλα
1696, Kastoria, MERTZIOS 1947a: 17, 217.6–9

ὁ δεῦτερος συγγραφεὺς δὲν ἐπίστευσε πὼς νὰ μὴν ἐπερίγραψαν ... τοιαύτην περίεργον ἱστορίαν
18th c., Don Kis. 53.12–14

Tense of Original Backshifted after Past-Tense Main Verb (*consecutio temporum*)

Aorist > Pluperfect

ἠύρασιν ὅτι εἶχαν πλέον κερδίσει 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 650

Present > Imperfect

ἔδειχνεν ὅτι αὖξαινε ὁ σπόρος του τὴν νύκταν
16th c., KARTANOS, P&N Diath. 334.41–2

ἐγράψασί μου ... πὼς ἐθαρροῦσεν ὁ ἀρχιμανδρίτης
1709, Chios, PAPAISTRATOU 1981: 34, 137.127–9

NOTES

- (i) As expected, the meaning of verb forms marked with *νὰ* in a *ὅτι/πὼς* clause is often indeterminate between simple future "will/would" and modal "may/might", "can/could", "shall/should" (see 1.2.2).
- (ii) With frequently occurring verbs, and particularly with *λέ(γ)ω*, the complementizer may be omitted:
νὰ λέουν ὁκάποιος φτωχὸς ... ἐνίκησεν τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν ἀδελφόν ...
14th c., Chron. Mor. H 5008–9
φαίνεται τον στο σπίτιν του εὐρίσκεται ἀπέσω 15th c., Peri xen. 34
καὶ εἶπεν, κερδαίνει τὴν ἀραβῶνα 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. O 86.2–3

καὶ αὐταὶ λέγουν θὲ νὰ ὑποκλιθοῦν εἰς τὸ κοινόβιον

1615, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 6, 175.56–7

- (iii) Occasionally in negated future complements the expected νὰ is absent (cf. Chapter 1, Rules (14) and (20) plus NOTES for similar omissions in negative prohibitions and wishes):

μηνοῦμε σας ὅτι ... μηδὲν σουφριάσετε κανένα μας ὀφισιάλην

1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 7, 7.1–2

- (23) It is common in later LMedG and EMG (ca. 15th c. onwards) for an ὅτι/πὼς complement to be replaced by an indicative clause conjoined with καί.

This may represent an extension of the semantically natural use of conjoined clauses with control verbs in order to emphasize the actual occurrence of an otherwise merely potential consequence of the action of the main verb (for which see Rule (26)).

But there is no inherent consequentiality in ὅτι/πὼς complements and this type is perhaps better understood as involving omission of the complementizer (cf. Rule (22) NOTE (ii)) with partial grammaticalization of intensifying καί “actually”: cf. μηδὲ θαρρῆς πὼς ... κί ἤμουνα κοιμισμένη, “don’t think I was actually asleep”, CHORTATIS, *Katz*. II.161–2.

ἀθθυμοῦμαι τὸν βισκούνην, τὸν πράχτορα καὶ τὰ δελιοπὰ ῥίκκια καὶ δὲν τ’

ἀλλάξαν ποττέ

16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron*. V 78.27–8

δὲ θέλειν τὸ προβιάσειν ποττέ τινὰς καὶ ἐγυρέψα νὰ ποίσω τιτοῖον πρᾶμα

16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron*. A 60.19

δὲν λέγω καὶ κλινίσκει σας ἡ πείνα τῶν θεϊκῶν λογί(ων) 16th c., *Pist. kekoim*. 11–12

ἦυρε καὶ ἦτονε γεννημένος ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός

16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath*. 329.23

NOTES

- (i) In the vast majority of cases the subject of the subordinate clause is referentially distinct from that of the main clause.
(ii) In later texts this construction is particularly frequent with “factive” verbs of perception or discovery (see Rules (24) and (28)):

ψηλαφώντας την ἠβλέπει καὶ εἶναι παρθένος ὥσπερ ἦτον

16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath*. 329.35–6

τὸ (παιδί) ἦύρανε καὶ ἐπροφήτευσεν πολλὰ μέλλοντα πράγματα

16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath*. 335.17–18

τὴν εἶδα ὁπὲς κί ἐθώρειε σε

17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Katz*. II.93

ἐὰν δῇ καὶ ἐξετάση καὶ εἶναι ἔτζι ἡ ἀλήθεια

1661, Naxos, KEFALLINIADIS 1974/78: 4, 423.12

- (24) Verbs of knowledge, perception and emotional response (e.g. “know”, “learn”, “see”, “hear”, “be ashamed”, “rejoice”, “regret” etc.) are “factive” verbs that presuppose the speaker’s/writer’s belief in the truth of their complements. In EMG factivity may be marked by the use of the complementizer (δ)πού.

With perception verbs factivity is dependent on direct as opposed to indirect perception, contrast *X heard Y happening* with *X heard that Y was happening*.

θυμάσταν ποὺ δειλιάζετε σὲ πόλεμον νὰ βγῆτε;

16th c., Alex. Rim. 1759

ἤξεύρετε ὅπου τὸ ἔχει ὁ κόσμος καὶ οἱ ἐδικοί του συνήθεια

16th c., PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 105.24

καὶ συμπάθησέ μου τὸ ποὺ σοῦ τὸ γραφῶ

1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 5, 173. 21

εἶδα τὴν ποὺ καθότουσε καὶ τὴν Εὐγένα ἐκράτει

17th c., MONTSEL., *Evgena* 190

τὸ ἔχω μεγάλο παράπονο ὅπου οἱ ἄλλοι πραγματευτάδες ἔλαβαν γραφὴν ἀπὸ

τούς Κοθωναίους

1696, Kastoria, MERTZIOS 1947a: 19, 218.3–4

ἤξεύρετε καλὰ ὅπου ἐγυρίσαμεν ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην 18th c./17th c., Alex. Fyll. 114.29

NOTE

- (i) Verbs of perception and emotional response are also used as control verbs, see Rule (28).

2.2 Control Predicates

- (25) Verbs meaning “want”, “try”, “dare”, “ask”, “allow”, “expect”, “order”, “make” etc. require complements denoting prospective/potential activities. In LMedG the complement may take the form of a bare infinitive, either present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective). Negation is of the main verb.

The subject of the infinitive is obligatorily “missing” and its content is “controlled” by the subject or, if the verb is transitive, the object of the main verb; i.e. the reference, grammatical case, person, number and gender of the main-clause subject/object are automatically adopted by the missing subject and some of these features may be visible if there is an agreeing subject complement.

πολλὰ πολλὰ ἀγαπῶ διὰ πράξεως λαλεῖν τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγον

12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 31 814.1–2

τίς τῆς καρδιᾶς του τὴν χαρὰν νὰ ἰσχύση καταλέξειν;

?12th c. or 13th–14th c., *Eisit*. f.7v.3–4

πὼς τὸν παρακαλοῦσιν ... νὰ καταδέξεται γενεὴ εἰς αὐτοὺς καπετᾶνος

14th c., *Chron. Mor*. H 233–6

εἴτις δὲ βουλευθῇ κατελῦσαι τὸ παρὸν γράμμα, νὰ ἐνὶ ἀσυγχώρητος

14th–15th c., Athos, LEFORT et al. 1995: 95, 148.14–15

τὸ ὠραιόκαρπον ... δένδρον τὸ ὑψηλότατον ὅπου σᾶς εἶπε φεύγειν

15th c., CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog*. 69–70

NOTES

- (i) The overwhelming majority of infinitival examples in the database involve subject control.
(ii) By the later medieval period the set of verbs of this class taking an infinitival complement is greatly reduced, essentially to verbs expressing “wish” or “desire”:

εἴ τις δὲ βουλευθῇ κατελῦσαι τὸ παρὸν γράμμα, νὰ ἐνὶ ἀσυγχώρητος
14th–15th c., Athos, LEFORT et al. 1995: 95, 148.14–15

οὔτε βουλόμεθα ἀναδέξασθαι πλεόν γουμάριν
1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: [α'], 292.18–19

καὶ ἂν τὸν θέλῃς ἀγαπᾶ, φρόντιζε τὴν ψυχὴ σου
17th c., MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 2015

- (iii) Occasionally, the infinitival complement is nominalized with the genitive of the definite article (τοῦ). This may represent an extension of the ancient use of the genitive articular infinitive to express purpose, itself an extension of the original adnominal use after nouns expressing “wish”, “desire” etc.:

παρακαλῶ τὴν κόρτην ... τοῦ κατελθῆναι ἐπάνω εἰς τὸν τόπον καὶ μαθεῖν τὴν
ἀλήθειαν 1224, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 30, 447.5–7

οἷος γοῦν βουλευθῇ τοῦ ἀνατρέψαι αὐτούς
?1358, ?Macedonia, LEMERLE 1988: App. II C, 231.11

εἰ θέλετε τοῦ ζῆν, φύγετε, μὴν σταθῆτε 16th c./14th c., *Synax. gadar.* 41

ἡῦρα δεντρὸν ἐξαίρετον καὶ ὠρέχθην τοῦ πεζεύσειν
16th c./15th c., BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 20

- (26) More usually, LMedG/EMG employs finite clauses containing νά + present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective) subjunctive (negative μή(ν)) to complement “control” verbs, and this has become the norm in the later medieval period.

Since such clauses lack an overt complementizer, the particle–verb combination typically follows the governing verb directly in order to mark its connection.

The meaning of some main verbs may allow for non-coreferential subjects in the finite subordinate clause: contrast *X persuaded Y that Z should do something* with *X persuaded Y that s/he (= Y) should do something*.

When the subject is coreferential it is omitted but agrees with its controller in person, number and gender, as shown by verbal agreement and (if present) subject complements.

ἐπρόσταξα καὶ προστάσσω πρὸς σέ ... ἵνα μὴ ἔχῃς ἐξουσίαν εἰς τὴν τοιαύτην
μονήν 1102, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 16

οὐκ ἠθελαν ν' ἀφήσουσιν τοὺς Φράγκους νὰ ἀπεράσουν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 409

εἰς τρία ἀλλάγια τοὺς ἔποικεν νὰ εἶναι χωρισμένοι 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5679

ἦλθε καιρὸς ... νὰ παρακαλέσουσιν ... τὴν κυρίαν, νὰ δεηθῇ πρὸς κύριον τοῦ νὰ
μᾶς δώσῃ νίκος 16th c./15th c., *Alosis* 288–95

ἀλλὰ δὲν τὸν εἶπε ποτὲ ὁ λογισμὸς του νὰ γένῃ κακὸς ἀνθρώπος
16th c., PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 105.2–3

τὸ χάρισμα ὁπὸ ᾧ γὰρ δὲ θέλω νὰ τὸ κρύψω, ζῶντα μου θέλω κανενὸς νὰ τοῦ τ'
ἀποκαλύψω 16th c., *Fyll. gadar.* 276B

καὶ τοὺς ἔβαλε νὰ κόψουνε ἀτοί τους τὰ παιδία τους
17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 25.8

οἱ ἱερεῖς δὲν ξεύρουν τὰ βρέφη νὰ βαπτίσουν

17th c., MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 2201

λέγοντάς μου ἵνα τοῦ ποιήσω τὴν μπαροῦσαν κοντραντιζιόν

1688, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 743, 1013.1–2

NOTES

- (i) If the meaning of the main verb permits, the νά-clause may also contain a past indicative:

ἂν ἤθελα λεπτῶς νὰ σέ τὰ ἔγραψα ὅλα ... πολλὰ ἠθελαν βαρεθῇ ἐκεῖνοι ὅπου τὸ
ἀκούσιν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 2816–18

“if I were to have written it all in detail for you, my listeners would be very bored”

- (ii) The lack of an overt complementizer in νά-clauses may be “remedied” in a number of ways, often (though not exclusively) when there is a gap between the main verb and its complement:

(a) with ὅτι/πὼς (as with verbs of “reporting” etc., see Rule (22))

(b) with διὰ/γιά (otherwise used with νὰ in final clauses, see 3.1)

(c) with τοῦ (as used with infinitives, see Rule (25) NOTE (iii))

With ὅτι/πὼς

αὐτὸς ὁ σκύλος ... δὲν ἠθελεν πὼς νὰ τὸν προσκυνήσῃ
16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 339.9–10

ἐπαρακάλεσεν ... τὸν πατριάρχην ... ὅτι νὰ κάμουν δέησιν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν
16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 415.7–9

δίδει ἀουτοριτάν ... ὅτι νὰ ἡμπορῇ νὰ τήνε ντεφεντέρη
1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 30, 49.4–7

With διὰ/γιά

ἠθελα διὰ νὰ τὸν ἐρωτήσω τίς ἐναι καὶ πόθεν ἐνὶ ὁ ἀνθρώπος
15th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* E 18–19

εἶπε διὰ ν' ἀρχίσουν οἱ σάλπιγγες γιά νὰ λαλοῦν 16th c., *Alex. Rim.* 845–6

τάσσει ... νὰ κάμῃ τὸ Γιάννη Τουρκογιάννη ... γιά νὰ σπείρου ὁμάδι ... τὰ
χωράφια 1611, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 729, 632.10–11

With τοῦ

οὐδὲν ἀφῆναν γὰρ ἑσᾶς ... τοῦ νὰ κρατῆτε ἐδῶ προνοῖες
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 2695–5

ὄρεξιν εἶχε πάμπολλην τοῦ νὰ περιπατήσῃ 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 81

- (27) A νά-complement is often replaced by a clause with an indicative verb apparently conjoined with καί.

This may once again involve omission of the complementizer and partial grammaticalization of intensifying καί (cf. Rule (23)). But here the consequential relationship between the action of the main verb and that of the complement allows naturally for conjunction,

especially when there is emphasis on the actual occurrence of an otherwise merely projected/anticipated consequence: contrast *X commanded and Y (actually) carried out the order* with *X commanded Y to carry out the order*.

- ὁ Θεὸς ἐπρόσταξεν καὶ ἤλθε τοῦ ροῦ Κάρλου ἡ ἀφεντία 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 6279–80
 ὠρίσεν καὶ ἤλθασιν οἱ πρῶτοι τῆς βουλῆς του 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7828
 εἰπέτε τί σᾶς ἔκαμα καὶ εἴστεν λυπημένοι 16th c., *Alex. Rim.* 1752
 ἔβαλα τὸν ἄνωθεν παπὰ καὶ ἔγραψεν μετὰ τὴν ἴδιαν του χέρα 1612, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 779, 677–8.61

NOTES

- (i) As with instances of καὶ replacing ὅτι/ὥς (see Rule (23)), the vast majority of examples have non-coreferential subjects in the main and subordinate clauses (i.e. the substitution normally involves examples that would otherwise exhibit object control).
 (ii) Very occasionally the indicative follows asyndetically:

- τοὺς Βενετικούς ἀφῆσαν τὴν θάλασσαν φυλάττου 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 640
 ὠρίσε ἠφέρασιν τὸ ἅγιον εὐαγγέλιον 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7929

(28) Factive verbs (cf. rule (24)) meaning “see”, “hear”, “sense”, “find” etc. may also function as control verbs taking a *vá*-complement.

The subjunctive is normally present (imperfective), marking the ongoing nature of the activity perceived. But an aorist (perfective) subjunctive may be used when the sense requires it: contrast *X heard Y do Z* (potentially perfective) with *X heard Y doing Z*.

Present Subjunctive

- κι ἂν εὐρωμεν τὸν βασιλέα εἰς κάμπον ν' ἀναμένη ... τὸν θέλομεν πολεμήσει 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 3650–1
 καὶ τώρα βλέπουν σε γυμνὴ νὰ εἶσαι τροπιασμένη 16th c., DEFAR., *Sos.* 222 (Holton)

Aorist Subjunctive

- εἶχεν μέγαν διλίτιν νὰ τοῦ γροικῆσῃ νὰ τραγουδήσῃ 16th c./15th–16th c., *Fior* 109.4–5
 εἶδαμε στὴ χώρα μας Πέρσοι νὰ μποῦσι τόσοι 17th c., TROILOS, *Rodol.* V.156

NOTES

- (i) As with other control verbs (cf. Rule (27)), the *vá*-complement may be replaced with an indicative clause conjoined with καί:

- νεκρὸν εἶδα κ' ἐκέιτετον 16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 23
 εἶδαν τὸν Δημήτριον ζωντανὸν καὶ ἐκάθετον 16th c., PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 106.14–15
 τὴν εἶδα ὅπως κι' ἐθώρειε σε 17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, *Katz.* II.94
 τὸν εἶδε καὶ ἐπέρνα, τὸν ἐπαρακάλεσε νὰ μὴν τὸν ἀπαντονάρῃ 17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 39.34–5

- (ii) In LMedG factive verbs of emotional response such as “be ashamed” may also take *vá*-complements (though none of the examples in the database involve coreferential subjects):

- οὐκ αἰσχύνεσαι ... νὰ γαμῇ τὸ μουνὶν σου παπᾶς; 14th c./12th c., TZETZES, *Epil. Theogon.* 21
 οὐδὲν ἐντρέπεστε ποσῶς νὰ παίζωμε ὡς κοπέλια; 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5394

(29) Modal verbs (expressing “ability/possibility” or “necessity”) and verbs of aspectual specification (“start/continue/stop” [doing X]) are complemented either by bare infinitives or, beginning in the 14th c., by *vá*-clauses.

These verbs all *modify* the activities denoted by their complements rather than denoting distinct actions in their own right.

Modal verbs may be personal or impersonal, aspectual verbs are personal; in personal use all these verbs involve subject control.

Ná is normally followed by a subjunctive, but modals may also take *vá* + a past-tense indicative when the situation described is hypothetical/counterfactual.

Aspectual verbs take an imperfective verb form in their complement because the modified activity is necessarily viewed imperfectively, i.e. is never bounded by both a beginning and an end to form a complete whole (as required for an aorist/perfective to be used).

Modal Verbs

Ability/Possibility + Infinitive

- καὶ ψηλαφῶντες ἀκριβῶς οὐκ ἔμπορουν τὴν εὐρεῖν 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 124
 τὸ κάλλιον καὶ διαφορικόν, οἷου ἔχομεν ποιήσῃ, ἐνὶ γὰρ νὰ ἀπέλθωμεν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 3647–8
 ἄλλα πλεῖστα πράγματα τὰ οὐκ ἔμπορῶ σᾶς γράψῃ 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7802
 εἰ ἔμπορέσῃ, δυνήθῃ συμπεθερίαν ποιήσῃ ... νὰ ἐπάρῃ ὁ υἱὸς γὰρ τοῦ ρηγὸς τὴν θυγατέρα ἐκείνου 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 6285–7
 κανεὶς οὐδὲν ἐμπόρειεν ἀναδείξαι τὴν εὐμορφίαν τοῦ παραδείσου 15th c., *Hist. Imp.* I 82–3

Necessity + Infinitive

- οὐ γὰρ εἶν ἀνάγκη ... περὶ πίστεως δογματίζειν 12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 9 312.23
 ἀλλὰ πρότερον ὀφείλομεν τρέχειν ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 244.609
 ὁ λίζιος ἄνθρωπος χρεώσται ποιῆσαι τοῦτο 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7571

NOTE

- (i) Infinitival complements may sometimes be nominalized with the genitive of the definite article, as with other control verbs (see Rule (25) NOTE (iii)):

- δὲν ἔμπορῶ τοῦ γράφειν 15th c., *Peri xen.* 356
 πῶς καὶ πότε ἠφάνισεν ἑξαπορῶ τοῦ γράφει 16th c./15th c., BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 14

Ability/Possibility + *νά*-clause

- οὐκ εἶχεν γὰρ νά μάχεται με ἄνθρωπον τοῦ κόσμου 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 3144
 ἀλλὰ ποσῶς οὐκ ἐμπορεῖ ἵνα τοὺς περικόψῃ 15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 660
 ἐμήνυσεν ... πῶς νά μυροῦσιν ν' ἀφεντεύσῃ τὸν λαόν 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 22.21–2
 τοὺς ποίους δὲν εἶναι νά τοὺς ἀνοματίσω 16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 50.13–14
νά τὸν διώξου μπορετὸ δὲν εἶναι τῶν ἀθρώπων 17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Erof.* I.198
 τώρα μυροῦ (< μπορεῖ νά) καυχοῦμαι 17th c., BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 577.25

Necessity + *νά*-clause

- ἐπρεπε σέ τὸ πρόβατον νά μὴ μᾶς λοιδορήσῃς 15th c./14th c., *Diig. tetr.* 458
ἐπρεπέ τὸν νά φόρεσε μαντὶ καὶ καμηλαύχι 16th c., *Kakop.* 127

Verbs of Aspectual Specification

+ Infinitive

- ἄρχασεν οὕτως λέγει του 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 233
ἀφίνω ἐδῶ λέγειν καὶ ἀφηγάσται διὰ τὸν Γουλιάμον πρίγκιπα 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5922–3
 ὁ ρήγας ἄρξετον λαλεῖ τῆς ρήγαινας 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7118

NOTE

- (i) The infinitive may occasionally be nominalized with the definite article, either accusative τὸ or genitive τοῦ (cf. Modal verbs NOTE (i) above):

- καὶ ἤρξαντο τοῦ παίλειν 16th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* O 180
 πουνρὸν τὸ τρέχειν ἤρχισα 16th c./15th c., BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 11
 πουνρὸν τοῦ τρέχειν ἤρχισα 16th c./15th c., BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 11
 λοιπὸν τὸ τρέχειν ἔπαυσα ... καὶ τὸ σπουδάσειν 16th c./15th c., BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 15

+ *νά*-clause

- ὁ ρήγας ἄρξετον λαλεῖ τῆς ρήγαινας νά λέγῃ, τοῦ νά ἐπαινῇ τὸν πρίγκιπα 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7118–19
παύομαι ἐδῶ νά λέγω 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7955
ἄρχιζοντας νά βουλά 17th c., KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 14.30

NOTES

- (i) As with other control verbs (see Rule (26) NOTE (i)) the absence of a complementizer in the *νά*-clause is sometimes “remedied” (often after a gap), in this case with *διά/γιά* or *τοῦ*:
 ἐξηγήθην ... πῶς ἄρχισεν τὰ ἐπάσχισεν τοῦ νά μέ ἀφηγάται 15th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* E 3778–80

εἶπε διὰ ν' ἄρχισουν οἱ σάλπιγγες γιά νά λαλοῦν, διὰ νά πολεμήσουν 16th c., *Alex. Rim.* 845–6

- (ii) As with other control verbs (see Rule (27)), a *νά*-clause after verbs meaning “begin” is often replaced by an indicative clause conjoined with *καί*:

- ἄρχισαν καὶ ἐρχόντησαν κ' ἐπροσκυνοῦσαν ὅλοι 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1640
ἄρχάζουν οἱ ἅπαντες ... καὶ κάμνουν τὰ ὁμάτσια στὸν πρίγκιπα 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7889–90
 τούτῃ ἡ εἰκόνα ἄρχισε καὶ ἐχαλᾶτον 16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 333.39–40
ἄρχισε καὶ ἐβγανε φωνές 16th c., PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 106.26
ἄρχισαμεν καὶ ἐπεριπατούσαμεν ὡς πρὸς τὰς Ἀνατολάς 16th c., PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 108.24–5

- (iii) Occasionally the indicative verb form follows *asyndetically*, and in this case an aorist (perfective) may be used if the process of inception is treated as a separate event, e.g. “X began and (then) did Y”:

- ἐκ τὴν χολὴν του τὴν πολλὴν ἄρχισε ἐχαμογέλα 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1401
ἄρχισεν ἐξέβαινεν ἔξω ἐκ τὰ νησία 15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 155
ἄρχισαν ἐτζακίσασιν τὰ σπίτια, τὰ σεντούκια 15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 658

2.3 Verbs of “Fearing” and “Precaution”

- (30) Future-referring complements to verbs of “fearing” etc. are introduced by the “modal” negatives *μή(ν)/μὴδὲν* or *μήπως* καὶ + present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective) subjunctive; the negative is *οὐ(κ)/(οὐ)δὲν*.

- φοβεῖ σε μὴ ἔλθῃ μήνυμα 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 150
 ἀλλὰ φοβοῦμαι ... μὴ οὐκ ἔνι εἰς ἀρεστόν σου 13th–14th c./12th c., *Dig.* G II.115
εἶχεν μέγαν φόβον μὴ πιάσῃ καὶ τυφλώσῃ τον, εἰς φυλακὴν τὸν βάλῃ 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4891–2
 ὁ νοῦς μου σ' ἐγνοία μπαίνει μὴν εἶν' κιανεῖς στὸ σπίτι της 17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Katz.* II.94–5
 στέκει ... μ' ἐγνοία πολλὰ μεγάλη μὴ λάχῃ νά τσί βρούσινε 17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Erof.* III.137–8
φοβούμενη μήπως καὶ καλέσῃ τὴν ὁ Θ(εό)ς 1596, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 1, 164.5–6
ἔχοντας ρεσπέτο ... μήπως καὶ δώσου του ... πείραξῃ 1603, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 193, 202.4–203.5
ἐστιάκτη μήπως καὶ ἔλθῃ ὁ Σακοῦκος ὁ Περσιάνος καὶ τόνε βάλῃ ὁμπρὸς 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 39.26
φοβοῦμαι μὴν δὲν θέλῃ αὐτός 17th c., MONTSEL., *Evgena* 443
φυλάγου τὴν λίαν μήπως καὶ πέσῃ σ' ἔρωτα καὶ σᾶς ἀποξεχάσῃ 17th c., PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 48

NOTES

- (i) The same construction is used with verbs of "hindrance":

ἐμπόδιζε, Χριστέ μου, μὴ παῖξη κοντογύρισμα καὶ ἐπάρη τὸ ραβδὶν μου καὶ
δῶση καὶ ποιήση με στραβὸν παρὰ διαβόλου 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* I 175–8

- (ii) Very rarely the negative particle μή(ν) is preceded by νά:

φοβοῦμαι νά μὴν πάθη τίβοτις 1584, Italy, PAPADOPOULOS 1978: 1, 318.10

- (iii) Fears relating to the past involve the use of past-tense indicatives:

φοβοῦμαι νά μὴν τόχασα, temo haverlo perso 17th c., GERMANO, *Grammar* 85.25–6

2.4 Verbs Taking Indirect Questions

- (31) Indirect questions are introduced by an expression containing/consisting of an appropriate interrogative pronoun or adverb (constituent questions) or by the conditional conjunctions εἰ/ἐάν/ἄν (yes/no questions); variant forms of the latter include ἀνὲν καὶ (< ἄν ἔναι καὶ) and ἀνίσως καὶ (< ἄν ἴσως καὶ).

Ei is typical of earlier or more formal texts, as is the restriction of ἐάν/ἄν to future-referring clauses containing a subjunctive verb; the generalized use of ἐάν/ἄν is typical of later and more vernacular texts.

The verb is indicative, future/modal or conditional, normally retaining the tense of the "original" direct question after a past-tense main verb (i.e. there is no sequence of tense requirement, cf. Rule (22) for indirect statements).

Subjunctives are used without νά in embedded future-referring yes/no questions (cf. 3.3 on conditional clauses).

The examples below are grouped according to the tense of the embedded question (that of the corresponding direct question in each case).

Constituent Questions

Future/Modal

βουλὴν ἐζήτησεν ... τοῦ νά τὸν συμβουλέψουν περὶ ... τοῦ Μορέως πῶς νά τὸν
κυβερνήσῃ 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7829–30

οὐδὲν ἤξεύρω τὸ σιτάρι ποῦ νά καταβαίνει ἀπὸ τὸ Λεοντάρι
1431, Ragusa, LAMBROS 1930: 29.21–2

τί νά εἰπῶ καὶ τί νά ἀφήσω δὲν κατέχω 17th c., *Diig. Sant.* 56.63–4

Present

ἤθελα διὰ νά τὸν ἐρωτήσω τίς ἔναι καὶ πόθεν ἔνι ὁ ἄνθρωπος καὶ τί ναι τὸ
στενάζει 15th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* E 18–19

εἶντα μιλοῦσι τὰ πουλιὰ ξεύρει 17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Panor.* I.267

Aorist

ἐξεθύμανεν εἰς τοὺς στρατιώτας πῶς τες ἀφῆσαν καὶ ἔκαμαν τοιοῦτον μέγα
πράγμα 16th c., *Martyr. Vlas.* 247.12–13

κατέχεις ... πόσα κακὰ ἐποίησα

17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 40.30

Yes/No Questions

Future/Modal

τὸν κάμπον νά τηρήσω, ἄν ἔν καὶ εὖρω πούπετε τόπον ν' ἀποκουμπήσω
16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 13–14

Present

ἐπροέγραφα τῆς πανιερότη σου ... ἄν ἔναι νά μᾶς ἐγβάλῃς ἓνα ματάτο
1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 5, 173.23–4

μὲ ἐρώτησε ἀνίσως καὶ ἔχουν νά κάμουν ἀγάπην μὲ τοὺς Πολονέζους
1654, Stockholm, TCHENTSOVA 2004: 4, 57.20–1

Aorist

λεπτομερῶς τοὺς ἐρωτᾷ ... ἄν ἦσαν τὴν δρεξίν τους 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 385–6

NOTES

- (i) It is common in more vernacular texts for constituent indirect questions to be nominalized with τό:

ὡς εἶδεν τοῦτον ὁ ἀμिरᾶς, ἄκο τὸ τίνα λέγει 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 517

καὶ τότε δίδουν τὴν βουλὴν τὸ ποῦ νά πᾶν νά κλέψουν
15th c., *Diig. Ven.* 81

ἔπεσεν εἰς λογισμὸν μέγα, τὸ πῶς νά ποιήσῃ νά μηδὲν ἐντροπιαστῇ
16th c., *Diig. Alex.* K 361.27–8

- (ii) Οὐκ/(οὐ)δὲν ἔχω ("I am at a loss") is commonly used to introduce "deliberative" indirect questions containing an infinitive (well attested in this function to the end of the period of this Grammar) or, in later texts, a future/modal verb form marked with νά:

Infinitive

καὶ τί φορεῖν οὐκ ἔχω 12th c., *Ptoch.* III 231

τὸ τί ποιήσῃ οὐκ εἶχασιν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4084

δὲν ἔχει πῶς κάμει ἀλλέως παρὰ νά πάρῃ τὴν πρελασιὸν
1603, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 187, 198.4

καὶ δὲν εἶχαμεν ἵντα στιμάρε 1612, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 779, 676.27

καὶ δὲν εἶχε τί κάμει 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 26.28

νά + Subjunctive

ποῦ νά τῶν δῶση δὲν εἶχε πλῖα 16th c./15th c., BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 420

δὲν ἔχουν τὸ ποῦ γράμματα νά μαθαίνουν 17th c., MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 2197

3 Adverbial Clauses

Many subordinate clauses function as adjuncts, i.e. as optional adverbial or adjectival constituents of sentences (see 5.3.3 for the latter). This chapter deals specifically with the different types of adverbial clause.

3.1 Final (Purpose) Clauses

(32) Purpose is normally expressed by means of a subjunctive verb form (imperfective or perfective) marked with the particle *ἵνα/νά* placed at the beginning of the final clause; the negative is *μή(ν)/μηδέν*, which may itself stand clause-initially without *νά*.

In LMedG the clause as a whole may be nominalized with *τοῦ*.

From ca. 15th c. onwards the particle may be reinforced with *διά/γιά* "for", or, somewhat earlier but less commonly, *ὅπως* "so (that)".

Νά is often omitted in negative final clauses, as noted, especially when there is a clear additional nuance of fear or precaution (cf. 2.3).

+ *ἵνα/νά* (omissible in negatives) + Subjunctive

παραβίβαζε τον ... μήνα ... λυτρωθοῦμεν τον γοργόν, νά μή μᾶς παραβλέπη
14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* IV 525–8

βλέπε εἰς τὸ ἐν μή πάθης δέκα
13th c. /?, *Paroim.* A 120

κράτησον τὰ φουσσᾶτα σου μηδέν ἐβγουςιν ἔξω
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1117

ἔγραψεν ..., νά ἰδοῦσιν τὰ προστάγματα
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7852–4

κ' ἤθελεν ποιήσει ... ἔπαινον του μέγαν, ... μή προῦ ἀπορήσῃ παντελῶς, καὶ χάσουν
τον οἱ Φράγχοι
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8531–5

ἐξέβη ... ἀπὲ τὴν Λευκωσίαν νά πάγῃ στήν Γένουβα
1390, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 11, 89.2–3

τὰ κάτεργα ἔκαυσα ἵνα μὴ ἔναι ἐπιστροφή
16th c./14th c., *Velis.* p 297

ἐδώκαμεν ... τὸ ἀμπέλιον, ἵνα ἔχῃ αὐτὸ καὶ δεσπόζῃ
14th–15th c., Athos, LEFORT et al. 1995: 95, 147.2–3

σὲ τὴν ἐδώκαμεν νά χαίρῃσαι με ταύτην
16th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* O 22

+ *τοῦ* *νά*

καὶ δένει με εἰς τὴν σέλαν μου σφικτὰ τοῦ νά μή πέσω
15th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* E 3306

μέ πονηρίαν ἀπόστειλεν τοὺς καταπατητᾶδες τοῦ νά μαθαίνῃ ... τὲς τῶν Φραγκῶν
γὰρ πράξεις
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1049–50

+ *διά/γιά* *νά*

καὶ ἐλάλεν τοὺς το ..., γιά ν' ἀφήσουν τὸν ρήγα εἰς τὴν ἀφεντίαν του
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 50.20–3

ἐπέφεν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, διά νά πᾶν εἰς τὸ σπῖτιν του
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 4.17–18

εἶπεν γὰρ 'κεῖνο τὸ κάμνει ..., γιά νά μή μπορᾷ τὸ κόψῃ οὐδένας
1610, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 662, 576.14–15

ὁ Θεὸς ἠθέλησε νά φανερώσῃ ... τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ὁδία νά μὴν ἔχουσιν οἱ ἀσεβεῖς
καμμίαν πρόφασιν
17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 38.26

+ *ὅπως* *νά*

τοὺς ἔγραψεν ... ὅπως νά καταλάβωσιν ἐκεῖσε εἰς τὴν Κλαρέντσα
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7852–3

ἔθεσαν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ἀναγεγραμμένη μονή ... ὅπως νά ἱεουργᾷ καὶ ψάλλῃ τὴν
αὐτὴν μονή εἰς ὕμνον
1558, Corfu, KONDOYANNIS/KARYDIS 1994: 2, 649.9–14

NOTES

(i) The genitive of the definite article was used in AG with an infinitive to express purpose, and though LMedG/EMG normally substitutes *νά* + subjunctive for the infinitive, as above, there are some examples of the infinitival construction from LMedG texts:

ἐκεῖσε ἡμπλικεύσασσι τοῦ μή φανερωθῆναι
συνέδραμον ἐκεῖ ὅλοι τοῦ βοηθῆσαι
13th–14th c./12th c., *Dig.* G II.102
16th c./14th c., *Velis.* p 316

(ii) In LMedG texts a purpose clause may also be realized by means of *διά* "for" (also *πρὸς* "towards" and *εἰς* "(in)to") + a *νά*-clause nominalized with the accusative of the definite article (see also 3.8):

τὸ κατοῦδιν ... στήσας εἰς τὸ τραπέζιν, διά τὸ νά εἰποῦν ὅτι ἐποίησεν ἐκεῖνο τὴν
ζημίαν
14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* III 264–5

(iii) Relative clauses may be given a final sense ("[someone] to do X/who can do X") through the use of future/modal forms (cf. 5.5):

εἶχασιν δὲ καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν, ὁποῦ νά τοὺς τὰ λέγῃ, τὴν μαῖμου
15th c./14th c., *Diig. tetr.* 36–7

(iv) Given the inherent sequencing of the events denoted by main and final clauses, something of the effect of a final clause may be achieved through coordination with *καί*; this is particularly common when the purpose is fulfilled and with verbs of "coming" and "going" (cf. *s/he went and did X*):

τὸ πράγμα σου ἀσφάλιζε καὶ τὸν γείτονά σου κλέπτῃν μὴν τὸν κάμῃς
16th c./1?, *Paroim.* H 55

ὥσαν ἦλθαν καὶ τὸν ἐπροσκύνησαν, λέγει 16th c., *Varl. & Ioas.* (Lavras) 75.18–21

ἤνυρε καιρὸς ὁ σουλτάν Μπαγιαζίτης καὶ τοὺς ἐζήτησε τὸ κάστρο
17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 30.10–13

ἐπήγασιν καὶ ἐχτίσασιν σπίτια στὰ τριγύρω νησόπουλα
18th c., *EFTHYM., Chron. Gal.* 19.7–8

- (v) In 16th- and 17th-c. Cretan literary texts *πά* often represents a reduction of *πά* + *νά*, where the first element is an invariant grammaticalized form of *πάω* “go”, cf. *θά* < *θέ(λω)* + *νά*, *μπορά* < *μπορ(ῶ)* + *νά*, etc. It is sometimes difficult to decide between a literal meaning and a more evolved future/modal function for *πά*, but the ultimate origins of *πά* *νά* as a kind of final clause (“go to do X”, “go and do X”) are clear:

ἀποὺ τὰ χεῖλη του θέλω *νά* πα γροικῆσω ἄν ἔχει πόνος
17th c./16th c., *CHORTATIS, Panor.* I.45–6

ὀμπλεγάρεται ... *νά* πα τὸ ξανακαμπανίσου στοῦ ἄνωθεν
1609, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 626, 547.15

θές *νά* πα φέρω ἓνα σκοινί, σφιχτὰ *νά* τόνε δέσης; 17th c., *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* IV.289

κι ἂς κάμουν ὅ,τι λέγουσι, μὴν (*μ*)πά καὶ γελαστοῦσι
17th–18th c./17th c., *Alfav.* 11 42 app. crit.

- (vi) The conjunction *μήνα* (also used adverbially = “perhaps”/“by any chance” in direct questions, see 1.4.1, Rule (17)) may be used in place of simple *μή(ν)*, particularly when the sense required is not negative purpose but the more positive “(just) in case”, “in the hope that”:

ὀρμησα ... τὸ *νά* γενῶ τσαγγάρης, *μήνα* χορτάσω τὸ ψωμὶν
14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* III 145–6

τάχατε κλεί τὰ μάτια του, *μήνα* τὸν ἔλθῃ ὕπνος 15th c., *Peri xen.* 25

πολλά αὐτοὶ ἐπάσχισαν, *μήνα* τὸν ἐξεβγάλουν 16th c., *Fyll. gadar.* 15 g

ἐκοίταζα πολλὰ *μήνα* ἰδῶ καὶ ἄλλους ὅπου ἐγνώριζα
16th c., PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 109.26–7

- (vii) The element (*μ*)*πάς* (perhaps a reduction of *μὴν* + an invariant form of *πάω* “go” with adverbial -ς (rather than the unmotivated 2 sg. *πάς*)) is used similarly in Cyprus in combination with *καί*; a following *νά* is optional. The sense “(just) in case” allows for considerable overlap with complements of verbs of “fearing” and “precaution” (see 2.3, Rule (30)):

μέ φόβον στέκω ... φοβῶντα πάντα *πάς* καὶ βαρεθῆς με· τα πάθη βιάζουν *πάς* καὶ
λυπηθῆς με 16th c./15th–16th c., *Cypr. Canz.* 91.11–13

ὁ ρήγας ... ἐδιαλογίζετον *πάς* καὶ ἡ ρήγαινα κομπωθῇ καὶ πᾶσιν καὶ πάρουν τὴν
Κερυνίαν 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 408.1

τοῦ ᾠγραπεν γραφάδες ..., *πάς* καὶ *νά* κάμῃ *νά* σαστῇ τοῦ χαζανᾶ ἡ λίτῃ
17th–18th c./17th c., KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 84–6

3.2 Consecutive (Result) Clauses

- (33) When the result described in a consecutive clause is presented as an event in real time, it is introduced by *ὅτι* “that” + indicative or, from ca. 15th c., by “factive” (ὀ)πού + indicative (both with negative οὐ(κ)/οὐδέ(ν)); when the result is presented as potential or logical rather than actual, consecutive clauses contain a future/modal verb form marked by *νά* + subjunctive (imperfective or perfective, with negative μή(ν)), later preceded optionally by *ὅτι* or (ὀ)πού.

A clause specifying the result of an action or state of affairs described in a main clause is always in principle optional, but if the main clause contains an element modified by a specifier meaning “so”/“such”, some result is at least strongly anticipated if not actually compulsory, cf. ... *so X [that Y]*.

With *ὅτι* + Indicative

ἐγίνετο ὁ φόβος τοιούτως πολὺς, ὅτι οἱ χριστιανοὶ ... ἐξοδῶκαν ἀπὲ τοὺς οἴκους των
1326, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 41, 93.10–12

τόσα τὸν ἀγαπήσασιν ... ὅτι βουλὴν ἀπήρασιν οἱ φρονιμώτεροί τους
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 2101–3

τόσον ἔγινε ἀπὸ τὴν μυθολογίαν ἐνδοξος ὅτι ὑπερέβη πάντας τοὺς σοφοὺς καὶ
διδασκάλους 16th c., *Vios Aisop.* K 147.4–5

τί εἶναι ἐτούτῃ ἡ σοφία ὅπου τοῦ ἐδῶθη, ὅτι καὶ τέτοιαις λογῆς δυνάμεις γίνονται διὰ
τῶν χειρῶν του; 17th c., KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Mark. 6.2

With (ὀ)πού + Indicative

ἔμαθαν τὸν ὀρισμὸν ἐκεῖνον, τόσον σκληρὸν κι ὠμότατον πού ποτὲ οὐκ ἐφάνη
15th–16th c./15th c., *Theseid* II.14.4–5 (1529)

τὴν ὥραν ἐκείνην ... ἔβρεξεν εἰς ὅλον τὸν κόσμον ὅπου πούπετες δὲν εἶχεν μεῖναι ὅπου
νά μὴν βρέξει 16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 333.23–5

εἶδα δυὸ κομμάτια κριάς ..., τόσα παχιά, τόσα καλὰ, τόσα πολλὰ μεγάλα, π' ὅλος
ἐξαναστάθηκα 17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Katz.* III.85–7

ἓνας θρῆνος γίνεται εἰς τοῦτο τὸ μοναστήρι ὅπου ὅποιος τὰς ἰδεῖ κλαίει τὴν λύπην
τωνε 1615, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 6, 175.30–1

ἔπεμψε παντόθες *νά* τὸν γυρεύγῃ ὅπου ἡμπορεῖ *νά* εἰπῇ τινὰς πῶς δὲν ἄφηκε πέτρα
ἀγύρευτῃν 17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 33.14–16

ἐγίνηκε ταραχὴ μεγάλη καὶ πόλεμος φοβερός, πού ἐγέμωσε ὁ κάμπος ἀπὸ κουφάρια
18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 33.24–6

With *νά* + Subjunctive

οὐδὲν εὐρίσκω εἰς ἑμὲν ... τοσοῦτῃν ἀδιάκρισιν, *νά* μὴ τὸ ἐγνωρίζω ὅτι εἰς τὸ κουμοῦ
τῆς Βενετίας ἐξέβησαν ἀνθρώποι γνώσεως μεγάλης 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 948–51

ἀλλὰ τινὰς οὐκ ἔφτασεν ποτὲ του εἰς τόσῃν δόξαν, τὸ στέμμα τὸ βασιλικὸν *νά* τοῦ τὸ
ἔχουν φορέσει 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 952–3

θέλεις ἐβγῆν εἰς ὄρεινόν λιβάδιν τέτοιον μέγα νὰ ἐγγίξῃ ἀπάνω εἰς οὐρανόν ... ἡ
 κορυφή του 14th c., *Log. parig.* L 133-4
 λέγε μου ... πῶς ἐπλανέθηκες τέτοιαις λογῆς νὰ προτιμᾷς ... ἐκεῖνα ὅπου δὲν θεωρεῖς
 ἀπὸ ἐκεῖνα ὅπου θεωροῦμεν φανερά 17th c., *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 34.20-1

With *ὅτι* νὰ + Subjunctive

ἀποκεῖς ἐβγάλ' το ἀπὸ τῆ φωτιά καὶ βάνεις τὸ κακκάβι ... τόσο ὅτι τὸ νερὸ νὰ μὴν
ἤμπορῃ νὰ πάῃ ὅξω ?15th-16th c., *Heptanese, MORGAN* 1954: 66.24-5

With (ὁ)πού νὰ + Subjunctive

καὶ ἓνα σκαρπέλλο τόσο μακρὸ ὅπου ν' ἀβαντζάρῃ ὅξω ἀπὸ τὴν μπουκα τοῦ
 κομματιοῦ ?15th-16th c., *Heptanese, MORGAN* 1954: 66.2-3
 παρακαλῶ τὴν ἀφεντία σου νὰ κατιβάσῃς τὰ πρέτζια διὰ νὰ πουλοῦμε (τὰ βιβλία)
 ..., πού νὰ μὴ μᾶς ἀπομνίσκουν καὶ γένουνται μπατάλικά
 1681, *Ioannina, VELOUDIS* 1987: 10, 308, f.2r.28-32

NOTES

- (i) In earlier texts and in less formal styles the consecutive clause may appear without future/modal νὰ or any overt conjunction:

οὐκ ἦτον τόσοσ ὁ λαὸς τὰ πλευτικά γεμίσουν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 407
 καὶ τόσα ἐβιάστησαν πολλὰ ἐσυμβιάσανέ τους 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 3312
 τόσα ἐπλευσαν, τόσα ἐποικαν, φθάνουν τὴν Σαλαμῖναν 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1385

- (ii) In more learned styles the ancient conjunction ὥστε may be used with past indicatives in place of *ὅτι*/(ὁ)πού, and occasionally even with the ancient accusative + infinitive construction (but ὥστε νὰ + subjunctive is usually temporal, see 3.4); in later texts ὥστε appears also in combination with (ὁ)πού:

καὶ ὁ ἄνεμος τοιοῦτος μέγας ὥστε ἔριπτεν τὰ ἀνώγια ἀπάνω κάτω
 1326, *Cyprus, DARROUZÈS* 1953: 41, 93.6-7
 σπαράττουσι τὰ μέλη του, κλονεῖται τὴν καρδίαν ὥστε νομίζειν καὶ τὴν γράν
 ἀποθανεῖν ἐκεῖνον 16th c./14th c., [*ANDR. PALAIOL.*], *Kallim.* 1161-2
 ἦτον παχὺς εἰς τὸ κορμί του ... ὥστε ἀπὸ τοῦ πάχους δὲν ἐφαινόnteσαν τὰ
 ἀρχίδια αὐτοῦ 16th c./15th c., *Syndipas* 116.10-14
 ἔπεσεν τόσοσ θανατικόν ὥστε ὅπου ἐμεῖς δὲν ἤμποροῦμεν νὰ θάπτομεν τοὺς
 νεκρούς 17th c., *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 6-7

- (iii) There is some formal overlap/confusion between consecutive and final clauses in that both look forward to events that follow the action of the main clause:

καὶ τόσα τοὺς ποτίσετε τοῦ νὰ ἔχουσιν μεθύσει 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8301

- (iv) From ca. 15th c. onwards coordination with καὶ is a common alternative to subordination given the inherent consequentiality of the two events:

ἐκεῖνος ἦτον τόσοσ κρουδὲλ καὶ ἔρισεν καὶ ἐσκοτώσαν τον
 16th c./15th c., *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 18.7

καὶ ἄκου τὸ τί μοῦ ἐσύντυχεν κ' ἐθλίβην ἡ ψυχὴ μου 16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 28
 οἱ Ἰσραηλίται ἠβλέπουν τόσο πολὺ φουσάτο καὶ φοβοῦνται καὶ δίδουν τὸν
 Σαψὼν δεμένον τῶν ἐχθρῶν 16th c., *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 278.33-4
 ἔπαρε ἀγριαγγουρα ... καὶ τὰ σφίγγεις καὶ πηδᾷ ἔξω τὸ ζουμί καὶ ὁ σπόρος τους
 17th c., *LANDOS, Geopon.* 237.4-6

3.3 Conditional Clauses

- (34) Conditional clauses (protases) are introduced by (ἐ)άν “if”, ἀνέναι “if it is the case that”, ἀνίσως “if by chance”, ἐν πολλακίς “if ever/by chance”, with negative οὐ(κ)/οὐδέν; εἰ “if” is also used in older texts as well as in more formal styles. “Unless” is rendered by means of πλὴν ἂν, ἔξω ἂν or ἀλλέως καὶ (no conjunction); “even if” by καὶ ἂν/ἄς, or ἀνέναι καὶ/ἀνίσως καὶ, πλὴν (κ)ἂν (but see also concessive clauses, 3.6).

When a conditional conjunction is present, νὰ is hardly ever used to mark future/modal or conditional verb forms; but the conditional conjunction may be omitted and the relevant forms *must* then be marked with νὰ (negative μὴ(ν)).

In LMedG/EMG both tense and aspect are important in determining the time reference of a conditional sentence as well as its reading as specific or generic (see below for details). Any meaningful pairing of forms/tenses is possible in the protasis and apodosis (main clause), but the event described in the protasis can never follow that of the apodosis.

With time εἶχον/εἶχα + aorist infinitive is confined increasingly to protases, where it starts to evolve into a pluperfect, first through reinterpretation as a form marking the logical priority of the events described in hypothetical/counterfactual protases and then, through a natural extension, as marking temporal priority vis-à-vis other past events, thus allowing its use in other subordinate clauses and also in main clauses. The development proceeds at different speeds in different areas, depending in part on whether the pluperfect formed with εἶχον/εἶχα + perfect passive participle is in use. In the 14th-c. *Chronicle of Morea*, for example, the εἶχα-periphrasis appears only in counterfactual protases in past time and is already used as a true pluperfect. By contrast, in 16th/17th-c. Crete, where participial pluperfects are the norm, it is still used only in subordinate clauses for which a meaning “would (have)” is possible, whether in a hypothetical or (secondary) habitual sense.

The examples below are organized according to the time-reference of the protasis/conditional clause, as determined by its overall context (but since conditional forms may be used to refer to past, present or future, there is often indeterminacy).

3.3.1 Future/Generic Time Reference

Subjunctives (possible events) or past indicatives/conditionals (hypothetical events) may appear in the protasis (see 1.2.2 for further details of the forms involved).

There is a fairly strong correlation between perfective forms in apodoses and specific readings of the whole, imperfective forms in apodoses and generic readings of the whole

(though perfective νά-futures are often generic and imperfects used as conditionals are aspectually neutral, cf. Chapter 1, Rule (11) and NOTES).

3.3.1.1 Subjunctive in Protasis

Future/Specific

ἂν με λάχῃ θάνατος, νὰ με λαζαρῶσουν ὥσπερ τοὺς ὄλους καλογέρους
ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 81.52–82.53

εἰ μὲν εὐροῦν ὅτι ζητεῖ ... τὸ κάστρον τῆς Καρύταινας ..., νὰ τοῦ <τὴν> δώσῃ τὴν
νομὴν καὶ νὰ τὸν ρεβεσίτῃ 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8143–5

ἂν στραφῇ εἰς τὴν Φραγκίαν, ἂν οὐδὲν ποιήσῃ ἔργον νὰ μείνῃ εἰς τὴν Ρωμανίαν ...,
ὅλοι τὸν θέλουσι γελᾶ, μέμφεσται κι ὄνειδίζει 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8183–5

βαρὺν με ἤθελε φανῇ, ἂν εὐρῶ ὅτι ἀργεῖτε 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1419

ἂν ἐγὼ ἀποθάνω, εὐρεῖ θέλει ἡ βασιλεία σου ἄλλον ἀντὶ τοῦ Φιλόνην· εἰ δὲ ἀποθάνῃς
ἐσὺ, ἐγὼ ἄλλον βασιλέα Ἀλέξανδρον οὐδὲν θέλω εὐρεῖν
16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 26.16–18 (Konstantinopulos)

ἂν ἴσως καὶ εἰπῶ πῶς εἶσαι ἀμάθητος τοῦ καλοῦ, καλὰ τὸ θέλω εἰπεῖ
17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 35.31–2

Generic

ἂν εὐρουν εἰς κατώφορον ψυχὴν ἀναγκασμένην, ἐκεῖ περισυνάγονται καὶ πολεμοῦν
τὴν πνίξιν 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 187–8

ὁ Θεὸς ἐλευθερώσῃ σε, καὶ ὅς εἶσαι ψωμοζήτητος 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 216

πλὴν κἂν αὐτὸς ἐλησμονῇ, πλὴν κἂν αὐτὸς νυστάξῃ, ἐγὼ πονῶ καὶ ἐγὼ ἀγρυπνῶ
καὶ ἐγὼ νὰ σ' ἐνθυμίσω 15th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* (Maiuri) 10–11

στὴν ἐκκλησίᾳ τοὺς ἂν συμβῇ Φράγκος νὰ λειτουργήσῃ, σαράντα ἡμέρες λείπεται
ἄψαλτη ἡ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοὺς 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 767–8

ἐχτρὸν τὸν ἔχω τοῦ Χριστοῦ, νὰ μὴ με σφάξῃ εὐθέως 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4756

καὶ πολλάκις ἂν τοὺς τὸ εἰπῶσι, νὰ μηδὲν κάθωνται
1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 287.21, 1

3.3.1.2 Past Indicative/Conditional in Protasis

Future/Specific

καὶ ἂν ἤθελα θανατωθῇ, τὴν κόρην δὲν ἀφήνω
15th–16th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* α 2960 app. crit. (N)

ἂν ἤθελα λεπτῶς νὰ σὲ ἔγραφα δλα ..., ... πολλὰ ἤθελαν βαρεθῇ ἐκεῖνοι ὅπου τὸ
ἀκοῦσιν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 2816–18

ἤθελεν ποιήσῃ ψυχικὸν καὶ ἔπαινόν του μέγαν, νὰ ὑπάντρεψῃ τὴν ντάμα Ζαμπέα με
ἕναν καβαλλάρην 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8531–2

εἰς τέτοιον λογισμόν ἂν ἤμουν ὅλη μέρα ἤθελα σκάσει στέκοντα σὰ σύκον ἢ πεπόνι
16th c./15th c., FALIEROS, *Log. did.* 258–9

Generic

πολλάκις δὲ ὁ πρίγκιπας νὰ ἦτον εἰς ἄλλον τόπον καὶ νὰ ἤθελεν νὰ ἐβαλλεν ὀκάποιον
ἄλλον ..., οὐδὲν χρεωστοῦν οἱ ἄνθρωποι ... νὰ ποιήσουν ἄλλου γὰρ τινὸς
ὁμάτιον 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7896–900

ἀμπολλάκις καὶ δὲν ἤθελεν τὸ δουλεύουν καλὰ ..., νὰ ἤμπορῃ νὰ τοὺς ἐβγάνη ἀπὸ
τὸ ἄνωθεν δίχως λόγου καὶ κρίσεως 1573, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 2, 21.10–11

ἂν ἴσως κ' ... δὲν ἤθελεν ἔχει χρεῖα ἐκεῖνος ... καὶ ἤθελεν θέλει νὰ τὴν (ἀγγελέα)
πακτώσει, νὰ μὴ μπορᾷ τὴν δώσει ἄλλονοῦ
1599, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 57, 77.9–11

ἂν ἐφρονέψασι κι αὐτοὶ ν' ἀλλάξουσιν δαμάκι, τσί κορασὲς δεῖν ἤθελες νὰ πιούσιν
φαρμάκι 17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Panor.* I.443–4

3.3.2 Present Time Reference

Present indicatives (potentially real events) or imperfect indicatives/conditionals (hypothetical/counterfactual events) may appear in protases, where there is a strong correlation between present time reference and imperfective aspect.

3.3.2.1 Present Indicative in Protasis

ἂν ὁ πατὴρ ὑπάρχει δαιμονιάριος, ὁ πάππος δύναται συναινεῖν τῷ γάμῳ, διότις ὁ
υἱὸς οὐκ ἔστιν ἐρρωμένος τὸν νοῦν ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 239.414

ἂν ἔχεις ἀπλαζίριν, ὅς πᾶν οἱ ἄνθρωποι νὰ μας ποίσουν τόπον, διὰ νὰ σοῦ συντύχω!
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 8.12–13

ἂ θὲς νὰ γιάνω, ἀφέντη μου, ἔλα μοῦ τ' ἀγοράσῃς!
17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Katz.* III. 92

ἂν ἔν' καὶ λέγω ψέματα, ὅλοι με πέτε 'κτῆμα' 16th c., *Kakop.* 14

μίσσεψε, Ἀλέξη, πρὶ σὲ δῆ, ἀνέναι κι ἀγαπᾷς με
17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Panor.* I.241

3.3.2.2 Imperfect/Conditional in Protasis

ἂν οὐ σὲ ἔγᾳπον τὰ πολλὰ, τώρα σκοτώσει σὲ ἔχα
15th–16th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* N 1571

ἂν ἦτον καὶ νὰ μπόρει τὸν ὕπνον νὰ κοιμάτον ἀλησμονήσιν ἤθελεν ὀλίγον ἐκ τὴν
λύπην 15th c., *Peri xen.* 23

ἂν τὸ ἔξευρα ἀληθινὰ, ἐπηγαίνα καὶ ἐσκοτώννα τὸν μισερ Ἀντρίαν
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 42.17–18

- σαράντ' αγίους καὶ ἂν ἔκραζες με πόθο νὰ γυρεύης, τὲς λειτουργίες σου χάνεις τες,
μὰ μένα δὲν μοῦ φεύγεις 16th c., *Alfan.* 10 71–2
- ἂν ἠθέλαμεν κοιμᾶσθαι ... ἠθέλαμεν εἰπεῖν ὅτι ὄνειρον ἐθεωρούσαμεν
17th c., *Vios Aisop.* I 269, 37–8
- ἂν εἶχα ἑκατὸ γλῶσσες καὶ νᾶχα ἑκατὸ στόματα ... τὰ χεῖλη δὲν μποροῦσι παρὰ
πού ν' ἀποφρίξουνε 17th–18th c./17th c., *Prol. Epain. Kef.* 65–8
- ἂν ἐμποροῦσαν θάνατο ἐθέλασι μοῦ δώσει 17th–18th c./17th c., *Stathis Prol.* 4

3.3.3 Past Time Reference

Past indicatives (denoting both potentially real and hypothetical/counterfactual events) and conditionals (hypothetical/counterfactual events) may be used in protases.

Protases containing past indicatives referring to the past are fairly uncommon, and tend to have progressive or generic readings marked by imperfective aspect; but the aorist may also be used in generics if there is contextual support such as a co-occurring adverb like ποτέ "ever".

3.3.3.1 Past Indicative in Protasis

Real (Progressive/Generic)

- αὐτὴ καὶ ἂν ἐμαραίνετον, ἐλαμπεν ὡς ὁ ἥλιος 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 183
- ποτέ ἂν ἐσυνηπλάκη ἄνθρωπος ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους μου ... εἰς τέτοιαν ... ἀνάμνησιν
ἀγάπης, πολλὰ τὸν ἐκατεπίκραινα, χίλια τὸν ἐμεμφόμην
15th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* α 125–8
- οἷος καὶ ἂν εὐρίσκετον, μαντατοφόρος νὰ ἦτον, τινὰς οὐδὲν τὸν ἐκαμνεν ἐμπόδιον
καθόλου 16th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1395–6 (ms B)
- ἀπὸ τοῦτα τὰ μῆλα τινὰς δὲν ἠμπόρειε νὰ πάρει ἀπ' αὐτὰ ἂν δὲν ἦτονε παρθένος καὶ
καθαρός 16th c., *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 335.38–9

Counterfactual

- ἂν οὐκ ἐθάρρεις κολυμβᾶν, κολυμβητὴς μὴ ἐγένου, ἀλλ' ἄς ἐκάθου σιγηρὸς ..., καὶ ἄς
ἐκνηθες τὴν λέπραν σου, καὶ ἄς ἦφηνες ἐμέναν 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* I 103–5
- καταβλαττάς ἂν ἐμαθον καὶ σηκωτὴς ἂν ἦμουν, ὡς σηκωτὴς νὰ ἐδούλευα τὴν
ἄπασαν ἡμέραν 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* III 181–2
- ἂν οὐδὲν ἦτον ἡ θάλασσα, ἀκόμη εἶχε ὑπαγαίνειν 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 260
- τούς πόνους ἂν ἐσύναξαν ὅλους τοῦ κόσμου τούτου ... καὶ εἰς ἄλλον μέρος νὰ ἔβαναν
πόνους τῆς ξενιτείας, πλεόν τῶν ἄλλων ἐβάρυναν πόνοι τῆς ξενιτείας
15th c., *Alf. Xen.* B 99–102
- Μαρ. ἐγὼ τὸν εἶχουνα ἂν ἐκεῖνος δὲν εἶχεν φάγει. Ἑρμ. ... καὶ πῶς τὸν ἠθελες ἔχει ἂν
δὲν ἔτρωγεν ἐκεῖνος; 17th c., *Bertoldin.* 96.19–22

3.3.3.2 Conditional in Protasis

- εἰ δὲ κομπῶσειν ἠθέλες ..., ἄς ἔλαβες ὁμοίαν σου, καπήλου θυγατέραν
14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* I 106–7
- ἐκεῖνοι ἂν σε εἶχαν εὐρεῖ, Συρίαν οὐκ ἐθεώρεις 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 141
- ἂν εἶχε ἐπάρει ὁ πρίγκιπας τότε τὸν Μέγαν Κύρην καὶ τὰ φουσσαῖα τῶν νησίων
... καὶ νὰ εἶχε ὑπάγει σπουδαχτικὰ ὁλόρθα εἰς τὸ Νίκλι ... ὁ Μέγας ὁ Δεμέστικος
ἀργὰ νὰ ἐφουσσατέψεν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4876–80
- ἂν εἶχαν ποίσειν τὰ καρτζὰ ἀσημένα, ἠθελα εἴσταιν τόσα φτενά ὅτι ἠθέλαν
καταλυέσθαι γλήγορα 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 76.18–19
- ἂν εἶχαν ἔχει κάτεργα, ... ἀπὸ τοῦ φόβου ἐφεύγασιν ..., ἠθέλασιν προτιμηθῇ
σύντομα νὰ μισεύσουν 16th c./15th c., *Velis.* ρ 325–8
- Μαρ. Ἐγὼ τὸν εἶχουνα ἂν ἐκεῖνος δὲν εἶχεν φάγει. Ἑρμ. ... καὶ πῶς τὸν ἠθελες ἔχει
ἂν δὲν ἔτρωγεν ἐκεῖνος; 17th c., *Bertoldin.* 96.19–22
- ἀνίσως καὶ ὁ ἀγός του δὲν τὸν ἠθελε κράζει, δὲν ἠθέλαν ἠμπορέσει οἱ ἀκτῖνες τοῦ
ἡλίου νὰ τὸν ξυπνήσουν 18th c., *Don Kis.* 48.8–10

NOTES

- (i) In texts composed wholly or partly in higher registers certain ancient options may be used:
- ἂν as an apodotic particle with counterfactual past indicatives (and conditional periphrases):
- εἰ γὰρ ἐκεῖ ἐτύχομεν, οὐκ ἂν τοῦτο συνέβη, οὐκ ἂν εἰς οἶκον μάς ποτε εἴχετε
πορευθῆναι 13th–14th c./12th c., *Dig.* G I.274–5
- negative μή rather than οὐ(κ) in protases:
- ἂν οὖν μή φθάσῃ με τὸ σὸν φιλεύσπλαγχνον, αὐτάναξ, καὶ δώροις καὶ χαρίσμασι
τὴν ἀπληστον ἐμπλήσῃς, τρέμω, πτοοῦμαι, δέδοικα μή φονευθῶ πρὸ ὥρας, καὶ
χάσῃς σου τὸν Πρόδρομον 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* I 271–4
- (Note the accumulation of "high" features in this address to the emperor, e.g. datives, genitive after a preposition, obsolete vocabulary.)
- (ii) When the main clause expresses hope/anticipation ἀνέν(αι) καὶ can be used in a postposed subordinate clause, "in hope"/"in case":
- ἐμπρός-ὀπίσω γύρισα, ... ἂν ἔν καὶ εὐρῶ πούπετε τόπον ν' ἀποκουμπήσω
16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekr. Vas.* 13–14
- Μήπως is used similarly when the main clause expresses precaution/prevention, "lest/in case":
- μηδὲν δώσης πληξίν τοῦ πληξημένου μήπως πιπέσῃ εἰς δισπιριά
16th c./15th–16th c., *Fior* 99.24–5
- μὰ πὲς μου πῶς ἐπέρασε τὸ πράμα, μήπως κι' ἔχει δίκιο
17th c./16th c., *CHORTATIS, Katz.* III.63–4
- δέομαι ... νὰ ἔχω συγχώρησιν ... μήπως εὐρῇ με ὁ θάνατος
1622, ?Karpathos, *ZERLENDIS* 1918d: B, 300.17–20

3.4 Temporal Clauses

(35) Temporal clauses add information about eventualities that take place before, at the same time as, or after the event described in the main clause, and contain past/present indicative or future/modal verb forms as required by the sense.

Clauses denoting past-time situations *preceding* a past-time main clause (i.e. with conjunctions meaning "when", "after", "since", "as soon as") normally contain aorist (past perfective) indicatives whether the situation described is a single event or a series of habitual/repeated events; towards the end of the period of this Grammar, however, an imperfect (past imperfective) indicative may be substituted in the latter function. Those denoting non-past (present/future/generic) situations preceding a non-past main clause typically contain perfective (aorist) subjunctives to represent both single and repeated events, though present indicatives may sometimes appear when the meaning is habitual/progressive. Typical LMedG/EMG conjunctions of this type are:

"(at the point in time) when"

ὡσάν, σάν, ὡς, ὅτε, ὅταν, ὁπότα(ν); ὄντε, ὄντα(ν), ἄνταν

"after", "since (the time when)"

ἀφοῦ, ἀφότου; ἀφόν, ἀφόν(ν)τι(ς); ἀπῶς, ἀπότις, ἀπόντας; ἀπείς, ἀπείτις

"as soon as"

μόλις, ἄμα, ὅσον, εὐθύς ὁπού, τόμου (< τὸ ὁμοῦ) νά, μοναῦτα καί

Clauses denoting past-time situations *overlapping* with a past-time main clause (i.e. with conjunctions meaning "while", "as long as") normally contain imperfect indicatives. Those denoting non-past situations overlapping with a non-past main clause contain present indicatives or imperfective/present subjunctives: since certain conjunctions do not allow/require subjunctives to be marked with νά (see below) it is often difficult or impossible to distinguish the two. Typical LMedG/EMG conjunctions of this type are:

"(during the time) when"

ὡσάν/σάν, ὡς, ὡς που, ὡς ποτε, ὡς ὅτι, ὡς ὅτε, ὡς ὁπότα(ν), ὥστε; ὄντε, ὄντα(ν), ἄνταν

"while", "as long as"

ἐνῶ, ἐνόςω; ἔστα(ν), ἔστοντας; ἔως (οὔ, ὁπού/πού, ὅτου, νά)

"as long as"

ὅσον

Situations *following* those described in past or non-past main clauses are necessarily prospective/theoretical relative to those main-clause events. Clauses describing these are normally introduced by conjunctions meaning "before"/"until" and contain subjunctives (mostly perfective/aorist); but since in past-time contexts the relevant actions eventually take place, a past-tense indicative is sometimes substituted in *until*-clauses, though not in *before*-clauses. Typical LMedG/EMG conjunctions of this type are:

"until"

ὡς (πού/ὅπου, ὅτι, ὅτε), ὥστε (πού/ὅπου); ἔσταν(ε); ἔως (οὔ, ὁπού/πού, ὅτου, νά); ὅσον

"before"

πρίν, πρὸ μή(ν), προτοῦ, ὁμπρὸς παρά, πρίχου

The *until*-group of conjunctions normally require subjunctive forms to be marked with νά, the *before*-group allow νά optionally; by contrast, the *when*- and *after/since*-groups regularly appear with "bare" subjunctives. Membership of the *while/as long as*-group is largely drawn from the *when*- and *until*-groups and individual conjunctions behave accordingly, with those belonging to both sets allowing both options.

3.4.1 Past-time Temporal Clauses Denoting Preceding/Overlapping Events

3.4.1.1 Preceding the Event Described in the Main Clause

"When/after/as soon as" + Aorist Indicative

ἐγὼ ἐξ ἀρχῆς πολλά ἡντεστάθην, ὅταν τὸ ἤκουσα

12th c./11th c., ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 9 314.5-6

καὶ ἄμα τὸν εἶδα, εἶπα τον, οὐδὲ ἐχαιρέτησά τον

15th c./13th-14th c., *Liv.* E 579

ἀφότου ἐκατόρθωσεν ὅσα σᾶς ἀφηγοῦμαι ... τὸ πνεῦμα του ἐπαρέδωκεν κι ἀπῆραν
το οἱ ἄγγελοι

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7801-4

ὅσον ἀποσωρεύτησαν μικροὶ τε καὶ μεγάλοι, ἀνοῖξαν τὰ προστάγματα καὶ
ἀναγνώσανέ τα

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7856-7

ὄντα τὴν ἐγόρασεν ὁ αὐτὸς ρὲ Οὐνγκε τὴν Κύπρον ... ἦτον εἰς μεγάλην ἔννοιαν

16th c./15th c., ΜΑΧΑΪΡΑΣ, *Chron.* V 20.4-9

ἀφόν ἐφάγαν καὶ ἐπαρδιαβάσαν, ἐκατέβησαν κάτω εἰς τὴν αὐλήν

16th c./15th c., *VOUSTR.*, *Chron.* A 44.9

σάν ἐμίσεψε ἀπὸ κεῖ ..., κιαμιᾶς λογιῆς ἀνάπαψη δὲν ἡύρισκεν ἡ κόρη

18th c./16th-17th c., ΚΟΡΝΑΡΟΣ, *Erot.* III.13-14

ὡσάν ἀπέρασεν ἡ πρώτη ἡλικία τοῦ παιδός, τὸν πέμπει νά κατοικᾷ ἐκεῖ

17th c., *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 38.33-5

Very occasionally the aorist indicative is used to indicate repeated events, though the imperfect indicative (overtly marking the incompleteness of the series) is the more regular choice in this function in the period covered by this Grammar:

Aorist

ἄν ἔναιν καὶ ῥαθύμηνεν, ἐπεφτεν εἰς τὰ ἄνθη

15th c./14th-15th c., *Achil.* L 525

Though the conjunction here is formally conditional, the sense is clearly "whenever".

Imperfect

χαράν μεγάλην εἶχαςι διὰ νά ἔχουν πολεμήσει, ἐπεὶ, ὅταν δὲν τοὺς ἄφηνε νά ὑπᾶν
νά πολεμήσουν, μεγάλην θλίψιν εἶχασιν, ἦσαν ὡσάν χαμένοι

16th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 9200-2

- καὶ ὅταν τὸ (χρυσὸν δέντρον) ἔκρουεν ὁ ἄνεμος, ἔμμορφα ἐτραγούδειεν
15th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* L 536
- ὅταν ἐλειτοῦργαν, ἐσυλειτουργάν του οὐράνιος ἄγγελος 16th c., *Pist. kekoim.* 366
- ὁπότε ἐμίλουνε, ἐφαινόνησαν σὰν τόσα τσουκάλια ὅπου νὰ ἐβράζαν
17th c., *Bertoldos* 6.11
- δὲν ἄφηνεν κανέναν νὰ εἶναι πόρνος ... διότι, τόμου νὰ ἀκούουνταν ποθὲς ψιλὸς
λόγος, αὐτὸς πάραυτα νὰ τὸν κράξη, νὰ τὸν μαλώσῃ
17th c., *PAPASYNAD.*, *Chron.* I §29.40–2

NOTES

- (i) The pluperfect is occasionally used in later texts to emphasize anteriority:
καὶ ὅταν ὁ Θεὸς εἶχεν κάμει τὸν κόσμον εἶχαν πέσει (τὰ δαιμόνια) ἀπὸ τοὺς
οὐρανοὺς εἰς τὴν γῆν 16th c., *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 335.28–30
- (ii) Since what follows may be caused by what precedes, conjunctions meaning “after/since (the time when)” may sometimes acquire the causal meaning of “since” (see also 3.5, NOTE (iv)):
ὀλίγοι ἄνθρωποι ἤμποροῦν νὰ τὸ ἔχουσι φυλάττει (τὸ κάστρον), ἀφῶν ἔχει
σωτάρχισιν κ’ ἐνὶ ἀφικωμένον 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8273–4
οὐλον τὸν κόσμον θρέφει τὸν τὸ θάρος κ’ ἐγὼ φότης ἐβίγλισα ἅ τὸν Πόθον ...
ἔχασά το 16th c./15th–16th c., *Cypr. Canz.* 109.19–22
- (iii) The relative adverb (ἐκεῖ) ὅπου, lit. “(in the place) where”, is sometimes also used with a temporal/causal meaning “when/since”; this may carry a further nuance of contrast with what has preceded:
ἀφῶν ὁ πρίγκιπας ἄρχισε γὰρ τὴν μάχην ὅπου ὑπωμώσαμεν οἱ δύο ἀγάπην νὰ
κρατοῦμεν, ἐκεῖνος ἔχει τὴν ἁμαρτίαν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4568–70
ἐκεῖ ὅπου ἐκατέβαλα καὶ κατεσόφισα τὸν τὸν χοῖρον τὸν κακότυχον ..., ἐσένα τί
σὲ ἤθελα νὰ εἶσαι εἰς ἐντροπὴν μου 15th c./14th c., *Diig. tetr.* 464–6
- (iv) Conversely, ἔστοντα(ς) καὶ and (in Cyprus) ἔστόντα καὶ οἱ ἔχοντα(ς) καὶ, lit. “it being the case”/“since”, may also have temporal uses (see also 3.5):
ἔχοντα καὶ ἡ Ἁγία Ἐλένη ἤρυν τὸν τίμιον σταυρόν, ἐβαλέν τον εἰς ἕνα νεκρόν
17th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* R 67.23–5
ἔστόντα τάπισα καὶ ἐβγάλα τον ἔξω ἀπὸ τὸν πύργον, ὁ βασιλιάς ἐποῖκεν νὰ τὸν
μάθουσιν τὴν ἀγίαν πίστιν τοῦ Θεοῦ 16th c./15th–16th c., *Fior* 150.14–16
- (v) With ἔστοντα(ς) use of the aorist subjunctive to refer to the past as well as the non-past is normal, though not obligatory (see Note (iv)):
οἱ ὁποῖοι ἄρχοντες ἔδωσάν με πέντε πῆχες, ἐγὼ δὲ ἔστοντας καὶ νὰ ἔλθω ἀπὸ τὴν
καθολικὴν ..., ἤμηνκα πῆχες εἴκοσι πέντε 17th c., *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 41–4

Ἔστοντας as a conjunction with past indicatives is probably therefore a secondary development, the original structure being a tenseless absolute construction marked only for aspect, “given X’s performance of Y”.

3.4.1.2 Overlapping with the Event Described in the Main Clause

“When/while/as long as” + Imperfect Indicative

- αὐτός, ὄνταν ἐμάνθανεν, ὑπόδησιν οὐκ εἶχεν 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* III 60 app. crit. (P)
- ἐνόσω εἰς μάχην ἔστεκον καὶ ἐμέριζαν τὴν νίκην, ἀφῆκαν τὸ νὰ μάχωνται καὶ εἰς ἕνα
λόγον ἦλθαν 16th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* S 1216–17 (Lambert-van der Kolf)
- ἰσιάστη μὲ τὴν πριγκίπισσαν ..., ἐνῶ ἐκράτει τὸν τόπον τοῦ ἀπ’ αὐτὴν κ’ ἦτον κυρὰ
του, καὶ ἀπῆρε τὴν θυγάτηρ της 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7980–2
- εἶχεν εἰς ἀβοερίαν αὐτοῦ τὸν Γγίον ντὲ λὰ Ρότζε ἔως οὐ ἔζη ἡ μητέρα του
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8043–4
- ὥς ἔστεκα κ’ ἐθώρουν τον, γυρίζει καὶ ὀμιλεῖ μου 16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 27
- καὶ βασιλέως παιδὶν ἤμουν, ... καὶ ὄσον ἀνετρέφουμουν, ὑψώναςί με χρόνοι
16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 51–2
- ἐγὼ ὥσάν ἐκείτομουν εἰς τὸ κρεβάτι ἀσθενημένος ἀνοιξα τὰ μάτια μου καὶ ἔξαφνα
εἶδα ἕνα ἄνθρωπον 16th c., *PAPA-LAVR., Diigisis (Meteoron)* 107.14–15
- οὐδὲ ἔλειπεν αὐτὸ τὸ φῶς ἔως ὅτου ἔμενεν ἐκεῖ ἡ Θεοτόκος
16th c., *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 328.28–9
- ἡ Μαρκόλφα τὸν εἶδεν ὡς ἐγύριζεν ἀπὸ τὴν χώραν 17th c., *Bertoldin.* 141.32–142.1

NOTES

- (i) (ἐκεῖ) ὅπου, lit. “(in the place) where”, is also used with an “overlapping” temporal meaning, sometimes with a nuance of contrast, “whereas”:
καὶ ἐκεῖ ὅπου ἐδέοντον τοῦ Θεοῦ νὰ δώσει βροχὴν, τοὺς ἔπεμψε χαλάζιν μεγάλον
καὶ φοβερὸν 17th c., *Chron.* 1619 1149–50

3.4.2 Non-past Temporal Clauses Denoting Preceding/Overlapping Events

3.4.2.1 Preceding the Event Described in the Main Clause

“When/after/as soon as” + Aorist Subjunctive (single event or repeated events)

- ὅταν ὁ κόρας πούποτε καθίσῃ καὶ φωνάξῃ, ἐκεῖ σημαίνει θάνατον καὶ χωρισμόν
ἀθρόον 13th c./12th c., *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 20–1
- τὸ δένδρον τὸ νεόφυτον ..., ἀφοῦ ψυγῇ παρὰ καιρόν, ἀφοῦ φυλλορροήσῃ, ... ἄλλο
ποτὲ οὐ βλαστήσει 13th c./12th c., *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 223–5
- πλὴν ἀφ’ οὐ κάτω κατεβῆς ἐκ τ’ ὀρεινὸν ἐκεῖνο, ... θέλεις ἀκούειν ἀπὸ μακρέα τῆς
Κακοδυστυχίας ἀνθρωποαναστενάγματα 14th c./13th c., *Log. parig.* L 145–8

- μοναῦτα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸ μας ὀρισμὸ περιλάβης, νὰ ποίσης ... διαλαλημὸ καὶ ὀρισμὸ
 ἀπὲ τῇ μερίᾳ μας 1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 3, 5.1–2
- δταν δώση τὸν κακὸν τοῦ θάνατον ὁ Ἡρώδης, τότες νὰ σκοτώσῃ δλους τοὺς
 πρώτους 16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 337.7–9
- κάθα ὄντὲν ἔρθῃ καράβι, ἔρχεται καὶ κάθετα καὶ κλαίει
 1610, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 3, 169.4–5
- δποτε ἔρτης με τὲς δύνამες ἐκεῖνες ... εἴμεσταν πρόθυμοι
 1618, Mani, MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER 1860/90, vol. 3: 24, 270.9

“When/after/as soon as” + Present Indicative (habitual/repeated events)

- μόλις τοὺς δίδωμεν ψωμῖν, ... εὐθύς με πᾶσαν προθυμίαν εὐρίσκονται δηνέρια
 15th–16th c./15th c., BERTOS, *Eis evd. aion.* 63–8
- ἀπὸ τοῦτα τὰ δέντρα ἡμποροῦμεν νὰ εὐρίσκωμεν τὰ σύνορα, δποτε τὰ χαλάει τὸ
 ποτάμι 1572, Achaia, VEIS 1956: 450.18
- παρακαλῶ τῇ πανιερότῃ σου νὰ μοῦ θυμᾶσαι ..., δποτα βρίσκεις πατσάτσο, νὰ μοῦ
 πέβης γραφή 1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 4, 171.6–7

NOTES

- (i) In more colloquial styles, clauses of this type occasionally lack an overt conjunction (in the manner of conditional clauses more generally, see 3.3). The subject is always omitted (i.e. understood as coreferential with that of the main verb) and the effect is rather like that of an infinitive marked for aspect but not for tense (see Rule (36)):

- πρόσεξε ..., νὰ σέβης εἰς τὸ κάστρον, πῶς στήκει 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8214–15
 “take note, on entering the castle, of how it is laid out”

3.4.2.2 Overlapping with the Event Described in the Main Clause

“When/while/as long as” + Present Indicative/Subjunctive

- καὶ ἂν θέλουν τρώγειν οἱ δεκατρεῖς τοὺς δώδεκα μοδίους, ... τί τοὺς οὐ θάπτω ὥσὸτε
ζῶ καὶ φεύγω ἀπὸ τὴν Πόλιν ... ; 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. II* 26.9–26.11 app. crit. (H)
- ὥς ποτε ζῆς, βεβαιώθησε καὶ γνώριζε ἀπ’ ἐμέναν, τῆς Τύχης τὸ κακόγνωμον οὐ θέλεις
 ἀποφύγειν 14th c./13th c., *Log. parig.* L 100–1
- βουλὴν ἀπῆρα ... ποτὲ νὰ μὴ τὴν στρέψω ὥσὸτι στέκη ἡ ψυχὴ ἐπάνω εἰς
 τὸ κορμί μου 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1410–13
- με δάκρυα πάντα νὰ σὲ κλαίω, ἔστα νὰ ζῶ εἰς τὸν κόσμον
 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 4274 app. crit. (X)
- λοιπὸν κι ἐσεῖς τὴν νιότη σας χαίρεσταν ὥστε ζεῖτε 16th c., *Kakop.* 185
- τὸ ἕτερον ἡμισον νὰ πάρῃ ἡ λεγομένη κερά Θεόκλητη, νὰ τὸ ἔχῃ ἔως ὅπου νὰ ζῇ
 1596, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 1, 164.23–4

- δμως εἶναι δύσκολον νὰ ἀποθάνῃ τινὰς χωρὶς νὰ ἐβγῇ ἡ ψυχὴ του, καὶ ὥστε νὰ εἶναι
 ἡ ψυχὴ του μέσα του δὲν εἶναι ἀποθαμένος 17th c./16th c., MOREZINOS, *Klini* 165.15–17
- ὁ ποῖος ἀφέντης παπᾶς νὰ μπορῇ νὰ ᾄχῃ τὰ μνημόσυνα καὶ τὰ συνθητικὰ ἑορτὰς ...,
ἔως νὰ μπορῇ νὰ ἱεουργᾷ στὸ ἄνωθεν μοναστήρι
 1601, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 107, 122.11–13
- εἶναι πολλὰ ἀναπαμένον τὸ μοναστήρι ἀπὸ λόγου του, καὶ δσον ζεῖ δὲν θέλουν ...
 ἄλλον 1615, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 6, 175.41–3
- τὰ ἐξῆς νὰ στέκεται ἡ αὐτὴ ἀλλαξιὰ ὥστε ὁ ἥλιος φέγγει
 1640, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 200, 168.20
- δντε ξημερώνει, ἄμε ὀμπροστὰς τοῦ βασιλέως 17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 42.5–6
- τὸ πρᾶμα του νὰ εἶναι εἰς τὸ χέριν τῆς νὰ τὸ κρατῇ ... ὥσποτε ζεῖν
 1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 31, 181.12–14
- ὥς ὅποτα ζῶ νὰ γρικόται ἀνάμεσά μας καὶ τῶν ἐδυνῶν ὥς ὅποτα ζῶ καὶ
 ἀποθάνοντάς μου νὰ ᾔναι πάλι ἐδική του 1731, Kimolos, RAMFOS 1972: 18, 287.13

3.4.3 Past/Non-past Temporal Clauses Denoting Following Events

3.4.3.1 Containing Subjunctives

“Until” + Aorist Subjunctive (single event)

- οἱ Τοῦρκοι οὐδὲν ἀνάμειναν ἔως οὐ νὰ κατουνέψουν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5260
- βούλεται νὰ ἔχῃ βάλλει φύλαξιν ... ἔως οὐ νὰ τὸ ἔχῃ ἐπάρει
 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 2899–900
- ὤμοσαν νὰ μὴ κοιμηθοῦν ἔστάνε ἐξημερώση 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 439 app. crit. (A)
- ὥς ἤκουσε ταύτας τὰς ἀποκρίσεις, ἄργον πολλὰ τοῦ ἐφαίνετον, ἔως ὅτου νὰ
ὑποστρέψῃ ὀπίσω εἰς τὸ καράβιν του, νὰ ὑπάγῃ τὴν ὁδὸν του
 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1444–6
- ἐκεῖ τὴν ἔδοξεν τὸ νὰ κρυβῇ τὴν γραῖαν ἔστ’ ἂν νὰ ποίση τὸ κακὸν
 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1249–50
- κι οὐκ ἤθελον ν’ ἀφήσουσιν τοὺς Φράγκους νὰ περάσουν, δσον νὰ ἐκπληρώσουσιν
 τὲς συμφωνίαις ἐκεῖνες 16th c./14th c., *Chron. Mor.* P 409–10
- ἔσταθην δυνατός, ὥσὼσπου νὰ διαβῇ τὸ πρᾶμαν
 16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 10.4–5
- πολλοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐσκότωσαν ἀπὸ τὸ φουσάτον, ὥσθε νὰ φθάσῃ ὁ πόλεμος τοῦ
 Ἀλεξάνδρου 16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 14.22–3 (Konstantinopulos)
- ἀποῦ τὸ ρέστος, ὥστε νὰ σώσῃ στὰ ὑπέρπυρα ρπα’, νὰ δώσουν ἐκεινῶν ὅπου τὴν
 θέλου καλογερεῖ καὶ μνημονευτεῖ καὶ θαφεῖ
 1600, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 92, 108.17–18
- ὀπλεγάρεται ὁ λεγόμενος κυρ-Ἀντώνης νὰ τοῦ δίδῃ κρασί ... ἔως νὰ τοῦ δώσῃ τὰ
 ὑπέρπυρα ρν’ 1604, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 256, 251.5–6

ἔτῃ πάντα ἐδῶ ἐζήσαμεν εἰς εἰρήνην, ὥστε πού ὁ ἐχθρὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου νὰ στείλῃ το
ζιζάνιο 1614, Tinos, HOFMANN 1936: 1, 58.8–9
ἀποσφώνιαξέ την (σκίλλαν) καλὰ εἰς τὸ ξύδι, ἕως νὰ μὴν ἔχη πλέον τινὰ ὑγρότητα
17th c., LANDOS, *Geopon.* 187.25–6

εἶμαι δοῦλός σου, ὥς ὅπου νὰ ποθάνω
17th–18th c./17th c., KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 161

“Until” + Present Subjunctive (usually of future/modal auxiliaries, rarely progressive)

ἀφίνω νὰ ἔχη ὁ Δημήτριος τὴν διοίκησιν τοῦ ἀπὸ τὸ μοναστήριον ὥσότε νὰ θέλῃ
ἐξελεθεῖν νὰ ὑπάγῃ εἰς τὸν αὐθέντην μου τὸν βασιλέαν
ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 82.58–9

νὰ τὸ περιφυλάττῃ ... ἕως ὅπου νὰ ἔρχωνται πατέρες ἀπὸ τὴν ἄνωθεν μονὴν
1660, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969j: 1, 140.10–12

“let him continue to keep it until priests are coming from the above monastery”

“Before” + Aorist Subjunctive (single event; more rarely repeated/generic)

πρίν τὴν εὐρύῃς (τὴν τύχην), ἐχάσες τὴν, πρίν τὴν ἰδῆς, ὑπάγει
13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 206

ἂν ἔπτασας, εἶπέ το, πρίν σὲ καταδεσμήσωσι καὶ χάσῃς τὰ νερά σου
13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 536–7

πρίν τὸ πιάσω χάνεται καὶ φεύγει ἐκ τὸ σκουτέλλιν 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* IV 242

ἦσαν ... εἰς τὴν Λευκουσίαν ἀπεζά, πρίν νὰ ξημερώσῃ
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 16.9–10

καὶ ξεφορτώσου τὰ κακὰ, πρίν νὰ σὲ φονεύσου 16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 118
ὁμπρὸς παρὰ νὰ γεννηθῇ ὁ Χριστὸς ἐφάνησαν ἀπάνω εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν τρεῖς ἡλιοὶ καὶ
τρία φεγγάρια 16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 334.12–13

μίσσεψε ... πρίν σὲ δῇ 17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Panor.* I.241

προτοῦ σώσῃ ἐκεῖ, τὸν εἶχε φθονῇσῃ ἡ γυναῖκα τοῦ καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ καὶ τὸν
ἐσκοτώσανε 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 30.29–31

πρίν νὰ σώσῃ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, ἦρε τζακισμένον τὸν Μπαγιαζίτη
17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 39.32–3

NOTES

(i) In Cyprus *until*-conjunctions are sometimes used to mean “before”:

ἐξωδίασεν πεντακόχες χιλιάδες ὀνομίματα ὥς πού νὰ τοὺς (γιοὺς) φέρῃ
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 76.13–14

“he had spent 500,000 bezants before he recovered his sons”

ὥς πού νὰ φάγῃ ὁ Δημήτριος, ἔγραψεν ἡ ρήγαινα χαρτὶν
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 412.5–6

“before Dimitris finished eating, the queen wrote a letter”

(ii) *πρό μή(ν) (νὰ)* is sometimes used when there is a nuance of “precaution” or “prevention”:

ἦσαν ὁ<μ>πρός, πρό μὴν ἔρτῃ τὸ καράβι μὴ τὰ ροῦχα τοὺς
1697, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 2, 52.28–9

3.4.3.2 Containing Past Indicatives (in Past Time Only)

“Until”

ἦντεστάθην ..., ἕως οὐ ἐπόνεσα καὶ ἡῦρα τὰς θείας γραφὰς μαρτυροῦντας
12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 9 314.5–7

ἀτὸς τοῦ ἐστάθηκεν ἐκεῖ ... ἕως οὐ καὶ ἐπληρώθηκεν τὸ κάστρον
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7999–8000

ἀφέντεψεν, ἀφ’ ὃν ἐστέφθην ὥς πού καὶ ἐπέθανεν, λθ’ χρόνους
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 58, 60.36, 1–2

ἔτρεχα ὥστε κ’ ἐτσάκισε τὸ σταύρωμα ἡ μέρα 16th c./15th c., BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 12
οὐδὲν ἐλείψαν ἀποκεῖ, ὥστε πού τελειώθῃ 16th c., *Alex. Rim.* 596

ἀνέμειναν ἕως ὅπου ἐφθασεν ὁ καιρὸς καὶ ἐγέννησεν ἡ βασίλισσα
16th c., *Varl. & Ioas.* (Lavras) 75.26–7

ἐγὼ δὲν τὸ ἐπίστευα ὥστε ὅπου ἐπῆγα εἰς τὸν τίμιον σταυρόν
17th c., *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 61–2

3.4.4 Other Types of Temporal Clause

3.4.4.1 Nominalized Verb Forms

(36) A nominalized perfective/aorist infinitive or a nominalized finite clause containing an aorist subjunctive marked with *νὰ* may be used to mean “on [X] doing Y”, i.e. as broadly equivalent to a temporal clause introduced by a conjunction meaning “when”, “after”, “as soon as” but marked only for aspect (with perfective aspect naturally interpreted as denoting a preceding event).

The tenselessness of subjunctives in this construction follows directly from the inherent tenselessness of the infinitives for which they are substituted; both denote actions outside the temporal framework of this world and acquire a time reference secondarily, through their relation to the time of the event denoted by the main verb.

The subject position of an infinitive in this construction may be controlled by the subject of the main verb if the two elements are coreferential. Alternatively, the infinitive may have an overt nominative subject of its own, which may or may not be coreferential with the subject of the main verb. If the infinitival subject is coreferential with the main-clause subject, the latter is omitted (i.e. understood as having the content of the appropriate pronoun); if it is not coreferential, an overt subject is obligatory unless the verb is impersonal.

When a single nominative subject is placed between an infinitive and a main verb it is often impossible to decide which of the two verbs it properly belongs to.

τό + Infinitive

- εὐθύς τὸ ἰδεῖν ὁ Διγενής, τὴν κόρην συντυχαίνει 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 934
τὸ ἀκούσειν τὸ δνομαν ὁ Χρόνος ἐκ τὸν ξένον, ὥσπερ ἐκράτει τὸ χαρτίν, γοργὸν τὸ
 ἀποτυλίσσει 14th c./13th–14th c., *Log. parag.* L 93–4
τὸ λάβει τὰ πιττάκια, ... ἀνοῖξαν τὰ προστάγματα καὶ ἀναγνώσανέ τα 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7855–7
τὸ ἀκούσει ὁ Ροῦσος ντὲ Σουλῆ ..., εὐθέως ἐσυγκατέβηκεν κ' ἰστιάστησαν εἰς τοῦτο 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7927–8
τὸ ἰδεῖ τὸν ὁ μιστὴρ Ντζεφρές, γλυκέα τὸν ἀποδέχτη 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8231
τὸ ἔλθει ἡ πρωτοστρατόρισσα, ὁ πρίγκιπας τῆς λέγει 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7703
 καὶ τὸ ἰδεῖν ὁ βούβαλος ἐσέβη εἰς τὴν μέσην 15th c./14th c., *Diig. tetr.* 1028
 ἐγὼ τὸ δεῖν ἐτρόμαξα 16th c./15th c., *BERGADIS, Apok.* V 53

τό + νά-clause

- τὸ νά τὸν Ἰδῆ ὁ ἀμिरάς, πιάνει, καταφιλεῖ τὸν 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 594
τὸ ν' ἀργήσῃ λεῖ (ὁ πάγος) ..., καὶ χολλιάζονται τυφλοὶ καὶ θεραπεύονται 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 34.7–8
τὸ νά δεῖ ὁ φρέ Γιλιάμ πὼς ἐλείψεν ὁ Περρῆς ..., ἐννοιάστην πὼς ἐπῆγεν νά ποίσῃ
 νώσῃ 16th c./15th c., *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 58.17–18
τὸ νά ξημερώσῃ, ἦρτεν ὁ Φανῆς ... εἰς τὸ σπῖτιν τοῦ Τζωρτή 16th c./15th c., *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 60.4–5
τὸ νά τὸ δῶ (τὸ λάφιν), τὸ δόξευα κ' εἶχα το σκοτωμένον 16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 46
 ἔγραψε ὁ Ὀκτάβιος τοῦ Ἡρώδου ὅτι, παρευθὺς τὸ νά ἰδῇ τὸν ὀρισμόν του, νά ἔλθῃ
 εἰς τὴν Ρώμην 16th c., *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 341.27–9

NOTE

- (i) A few examples in later texts have aorist indicatives with or without νά. These appear to involve adaptations of the above in line with the form/sense of corresponding temporal clauses:

- τὸ{ν} νά τὸ ἐγέννησεν (τὸ παιδί), ἐστάθηκε ὀρθὸ εἰς τὰ ποδάρια του 16th c., *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 335.6–7
τὸ ἤκουσε ὁ Ταμερλάνος, τοῦ ἑκακοφάνη πολλά ... νά παίρνῃ τὴν ἀφεντία τους 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 31.10–12

3.4.4.2 Gerunds

- (37) A gerund (or an inflected participle) may perform the role of a temporal clause in describing situations that precede or overlap with the event described in the main clause; in the absence of a conjunction the exact temporal force has to be determined pragmatically from the context.

Inflected participles apart from the perfect passive are all but obsolete in vernacular LMedG and often poorly controlled (at least by ancient standards). Their use indicates a higher register and/or an official context (especially legal), and in their role as stylistically marked variants of gerunds they mainly follow the syntax of the latter in not allowing their subjects, overt or covert, to be coreferential with non-subjects in main clauses. But whereas gerunds are always active in form and meaning, participles may be either active or mediopassive. Mediopassive participles are particularly useful in the absence of a corresponding gerundial option, though many common deponent verbs (those with mediopassive morphology but active meanings) do form active gerunds: *ἔρχοντας*, *φαίνοντας* etc.

Accordingly, gerunds/participles function prototypically as active “subject-orientated adjuncts”, i.e. with a missing subject understood to be coreferential with the subject of the main verb, or as “absolute constructions”, i.e. with an overt subject of their own that is referentially distinct from that of the main verb. In practice, however, the two subjects are often coreferential, and in this respect gerundial/participial constructions follow the model of temporal clauses, cf. the non-coreferential subjects of *after X did this, Y did that* with the (optionally) coreferential subjects of *after X did this, s/he (= X) did that*, or *after s/he (= X) did this, X did that*.

When the subject of a gerund is coreferential with that of the main verb, therefore, the subject position is either empty and controlled by the main-verb subject (i.e. the two are automatically understood to corefer), or it is filled with a nominative subject to form an “improper” absolute construction, with the main-verb subject omitted and its pronominal content supplied by agreement morphology on the verb. Ideally, participles in this construction agree with the main-clause subject in number, gender and case (nominative) and their subject position is controlled, though various deviations from this norm are attested.

When the subject of a gerund is not coreferential with the main-verb subject, the position is filled unless the verb is impersonal; the subject may be nominative (making a true nominative absolute), or, in deference to ancient practice, genitive (making a genitive absolute), but genitive clitic pronouns are standard in the absence of nominative clitics (τος has a very restricted distribution). Ideally, inflected participles agree with their own subjects in number, gender and case (nominative or genitive), though again there are deviations. The subject of a genitive absolute, like that of a nominative absolute, may in practice be coreferential with that of the main clause.

The negative is either οὐ(κ)/(οὐ)δέν or μή(ν) according to whether the writer is following the functional parallel with temporal clauses (where οὐ(κ)/(οὐ)δέν is used with past/present indicatives) or the participial tradition (where μή(ν) had been the standard negator since Late Antiquity); the former is the normal option.

Perfective gerunds/participles are normally understood to denote an event taking place before that of the main clause, imperfective forms as denoting eventualities (at least partly) contemporaneous with the main-clause event, but perfective forms are in decline in the later period covered by this Grammar and imperfective forms are often used in an aspectually neutral way.

Nominative Subject (± control by/coreferentiality with main-clause subject)

- διαβόντα γὰρ μικρὸς καιρὸς, ἀπέθανε ἡ κουντέσσα 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8001
 ἀκούσοντά το οἱ ὄρχοντες, ... μεγάλως τὸ ἀνεχάρησαν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 351-4
 ὁ καστελλάνος παρευτὺς, οὐ μὴ σκοπῶντα δόλον, ... ὑποσχέθη του νὰ τὸν δεχτῇ
 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8237-8
 ἐκεῖνος δὲ δεξάμενος τῆς κόρης τὸ πιτάκιν, ἀνέθαλλεν ἡ ψυχίτσα του, ἐχάρηκεν
 μεγάλως 15th-16th c./14th-15th c., *Achil.* N 1110-11
 ἐμόσαν του ὁ σὶρ Φίλιππε τε Ἰμπελὴν ... καὶ ὁ μισέρ Τζουάν Ταπιέρ, καθὼς ἐποῖκαν
 οἱ δελοῖποι ἀφέντες, θέλοντα καὶ μὴ θέλοντα
 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 56.26-8
 πηγαίνοντα ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ πάπα, πολλὰ ἐκατηγόρησαν τοὺς Κυπριῶτες
 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 296.9-10
 γροικῶντα ὁ κυβερνούρης τὸ κακὸν θέλημαν τοῦ πάπα, ἐξανάστρεψεν ἄλλους
 μαντατοφόρους 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 296.13-15
 σιμώνοντας ἡ ὥρα νὰ γεννηθῇ ὁ Χριστός, ἦλθεν ἀπὸ τοὺς οὐρανοὺς μέγα φῶς
 16th c., *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 329.7-9
 ὁ γαίδαρος, ἰδὼντας τοῦτο, ἐκατηγόρησεν τότε τὸ ἄλογο πολλὰ
 16th c., *NOUKIOS, Ais. Myth.* 53.6-7
 ἐτοῦτα λέγοντας ἡ Παρθένος Μαρία τῆς ἡγουμένης, φαίνεται πῶς τήνε παίρνει καὶ
 πάγει τήνε εἰς ἓναν τόπον σκοτεινόν 17th c./16th c., *MOREZINOS, Klini* 235.12-13
 ἐλθόντος ἡ ὥρα, ἐσηκώθη τὸ φουσατόν νὰ πηγαίνει
 17th c./16th c., *Vios Filaret.* 241.38-9
 νὰ ἐμπορῆς ἀπὸ ὅδα νὰ σοτοσκοριβέρης τοῦτο τὸ χαρτί ἀπὸ τὸν ... αὐθέντη δούκα,
 φυλαζόμενα ἄλλα ὅπου σοῦ χρεωστῶ
 1549, Crete, *MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS* 2005: 141, 141.7-8
 καὶ τὸ ἄλλον ἡμισὸ [νὰ παίρνου]ν οἱ κοπιαστάδες, ἀβοηθῶντας ἡ προειρημένη
 κυράτσα Σταμάτα στὴν φύτευσιν 1573, Kefalonia, *ZAPANDI* 2001a: 2, 21.8-9
 πᾶσα γνωστικός ἄνθρωπος, δὲ κατέχοντας πότες ἔχει νὰ τοῦ ἔλθῃ αὐτὸς ὁ θάνατος,
 πρέπει καὶ τυχαίνει νὰ ὀρδινιαστῇ 1598, Crete, *BAKKER/VAN GEMERT* 1987: 14, 35.5-6
 ἰδόντας αὐτὰ, οἱ γιανιτζάρου τοῦ ἐφύγανε καὶ ἐδιάβησαν μὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸ του
 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 44.28-9
 περνῶντας λοιπόν ... καλὰ τὰ πράγματα, καὶ ... πετῶντες πολλοὶ εἰς τοὺς
 οὐρανοὺς, ἀνασταίνεται ἓνας βασιλέας εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν χώραν
 17th c., *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 31.26-9
 τὸ δὲ ... γένος τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἐπρόκοπτε ..., δὲν λογιάζοντες ... τὴν γνώμην τοῦ
 βασιλέως, μὴδὲ φοβούμενοι τοὺς φοβερismoὺς του
 17th c., *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 32.3-5

Genitive Subject (± coreferentiality with main-clause subject)

- ὥς ἐνι θεοῦ θέλημα, ὡς γίνεται, ὅτι ..., συνεργοῦντος μου τοῦ Κυρίου, αὐτὰ εἶν τὸ
 ἔργον μου 12th c./11th c., *NIKON, Logos* 9 314.27-9

- τοῦτο δὲ κάμου ἀκούσαντος, ἀπόστειλα γραφὴν εἰς τὸν ἡγούμενον
 ?1125, Sicily, *CUSA* 1868/82: Coll. IX: 18, 417.4
 τοῦ γάμου λυομένου, ὡς τρέφονται τὰ παιδιὰ ἀπὸ τὰ ἀγαθὰ τὰ πατρικά
 ca. 1300, Cyprus, *MARUHN* 1981: 232.195
 οἱ συγγενεῖς του ἐγένοντο, καὶ μὴ θελῶν τοῦ δούκα 15th c., *Chron. Tob.* 1025 app. crit.
 θανατικοῦ γενομένου ... καὶ φαιλικῶς εὐρισκομένων εἰς κάστρον ἐν τῶν ἐκεῖσε
 κεφαλατεύοντες ..., ἀπέθανε ... τὸ παιδὶν καὶ ... ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ... ἡ μήτηρ
 αὐτοῦ 16th c./15th c., *SFRANTZIS, Chron.* 12.1-8
 τὸ χάρισμα ὁπδῶν γὰρ δὲ θέλω νὰ τὸ κρύψω, ζῶντα μου θέλω κανενὸς νὰ τοῦ τ'
 ἀποκαλύψω 16th c., *Fyll. gadar.* 276-6B
 καθεζομένης τῆς Ἀφεντίας, ὑπῆγε καὶ ἐπροσκύνησεν αὐτὴν καὶ τὸ γράμμα τοῦ
 μπάιλου τοῦ Γαλατᾶ ἔδειξεν 16th c., *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* (1572) 15-17
 καὶ τὴν ἑτερην ἀποληθὲν ἀπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν νὰ τήνε μοιράζουν ἐφ' ἡμισίας ὁ υἱὸς του ...
 μὲ τὸν ἀγκονὰ του ..., ἀποτυχόντας (σ) τοῦ τοῦ προειρημένου κυρ Ἀλίσαντρου
 1579, Kefalonia, *ZAPANDI* 2001a: 5, 23.14-16
 μὴ ἐρχοντάς τους στὸ ἄνωθεν τέρμενον, νὰ ἡμποροῦν οἱ κριτάδες ν' ἀποφασίσουν
 διὰ γνώμην τους 1582, Kefalonia, *ZAPANDI* 2001a: 135, 89.2-3
 ἀποθανόντας τοῦ καλογέρου, ν' ἀπομένη τὸ λεγόμενο ἀμπέλι στὰ παιδιὰ τοῦ
 ἄνωθεν Λιγνοῦ 1600, Crete, *BAKKER/VAN GEMERT* 1987: 92, 108.10-11
 ὁποῖος ἀγαπᾷ ἐμένα ζῶν(ας) μου, ἔνα τους παρακαλῶ, ν' ἀγαποῦσι τὴν μάνα μου
 καὶ τὰ παιδιὰ μου δέκα 1662, Sifnos, *MERTZIOS* 1958a: 1, 110.144-5
 κάθοντά σου εἰς τὴν τράπεζαν, γελᾷς ἢ συντυχαίνεις;
 17th c., Cyprus, *CHRISTODOULOU* 1983: A, 406.389

NOTES

- (i) According to context, a gerundial clause may take on causal or circumstantial nuances, as expected.
 (ii) In colloquial texts a missing subject may sometimes not be linked directly to the main-clause subject and a commonsense interpretation is required; e.g. in the following the subject of the gerund is coreferential with the subject of a subordinate clause:

παγαίνοντας εἰς τὸ σπῆτι τοῦ, ... ἀπὸ τὸ σακοῦλι, ὅπου ἔβαλε τὸ κεφάλι, ἔτρεχεν
 αἶμα! 16th c., *DIONYS., Istor.* 253.23-4

3.5 Causal Clauses

- (38) Causal clauses are introduced by conjunctions meaning "because" or "since" and contain past/present indicative or future/modal verb forms according to the sense required.

In real (past/present) time the action or situation described in a causal clause must precede or overlap with the eventuality that it provides a cause or reason for.

But a causal clause may also represent a motivating belief held at the time of speaking about what will/would happen in the future as a *consequence* of the main-clause event (see NOTE (ii) below for EMG examples).

Typical LMedG/EMG causal conjunctions are:

"because": *ὅτι, διότι, διατό, διοῦ; διατ/(δ)γιατί*

"since": *ἐπεὶ/ἐπειδὴ(τις), ἔσ(τ)οντας (νά, ὁπού/πού), στάντες (νά, καὶ νά).*

The conjunctions *ὅτι* and *διότι* "because" are used throughout the period of this Grammar; the second, in origin, is a clarification of the former involving prefixation of *δι(ά)* "because of".

As often happens cross-linguistically, *διατ* "why" (retained alongside its later development *γιατί*) also came to mean "because".

Ἔσ(τ)οντας and *στάντες* (in use alongside the traditional *ἐπεὶ/ἐπειδὴ* "since") are in origin gerunds of the verb "be", first used in tenseless absolute constructions containing *νά*-subjunctives marked only for aspect, "[X's performance of Y] being the case". Subsequently they came to be used with tensed indicative forms, in the case of *ἔστοντας* often in combination with *ὁπού* (and occasionally with retention of *νά*), "it being the case that [X happens/happened]". From this, it was a simple step to reinterpretation as a conjunction meaning "since", "given that".

"Because"

ὡς τὸ ἦκουσα ὁ δοῦλος σου χαρᾶς πολλῆς ἐπλήσθη, *ὅτι* ἡ κοιλία μου *ἠὲ*καίρησεν ἀπὸ τὴν ἀφαγίαν 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. I* 258-9

χθὲς ἐν αὐτῷ ἐσφάξαμεν ἡδονικὰ κοράσια, *διότι* οὐδὲν ἠθέλασιν ὡσάν τὰς ἔλαλοῦμαν 15th c./12th c., *Dig. E* 72-3

καὶ ἐπλάκωσεν τὸν λαὸν ... *ὅτι* ἐξήχυσεν ὁ ποταμὸς καὶ ἐπνίξεν χιλιάδας ν' καὶ β' 1326, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 41, 93.7-9

οὐκ ἔμπορῶ σᾶς γράψει, *διατὶ* βαρεῖώμαι γράφει τα διὰ τὴν πολυγραφίαν 14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 7802-3

ὅλοι τὸν θέλουσι γεῶν, ... *διότι* ἐστράφη ἀνεργος, τὴν ἐξοδὸν τοῦ *ἐχάσε* 14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 8185-6

οἱ βοσκοὶ ... ἀσηκώθησαν ἀπάνω, συχυσμένοι *διότι* ἐκοιμοῦνταν 16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 332.12-14

ἡ ... Μακαρία Κουκάκαινα ... εὐρίσκεται ἀχαμνά, *διατὶ* *ἔ*ναι γερόντισσα 1596, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 1, 164.2-4

ὁ πατέρας τοῦ δὲν τὸν ἐδέχτη, *διατὶ* ἐφοβάτονε ἀπὸ τὸν σουλτάν Μουράτη 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 25.26-7

παρακαλῶ τὴν πανιερότη σου νὰ μοῦ τσι στείλῃς τσι τάβλες, *ὅ*γιατὶ μοῦ *κάνουσι* μεγάλη χρεία 1610, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 2, 168.24-5

νὰ μοῦ στείλῃς δύο ὠρολόγια ... *ὅτι* *μὲ* *χρειάζονται* γιὰ τὰ παιδιὰ μου 1697, Albania, MERTZIOS 1947a: 37, 226.11-13

"Since"

ἐπεὶ ... τοῦ τόπου τὰ συνήθεια *ὀρίζουν* ὅτι ὁ πρίγκιπας, ... σωματικῶς νὰ ἀπέρχεται ἐντὸς τοῦ πριγκιπάτου 14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 7880-3

ἔκαμε καὶ ἔκαμάν του ἄλλην εἰς τύπωσιν ..., *ἐπειδὴ* αὐτὸς *ἔ*ναι μεγαλύτερος βασιλεὺς παρὰ ὅλους 16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 333.17-21

ἔστειλεν ἐξοδες καὶ κάτεργα ὁ πάπας ..., *ἔ*στοντας ὁπού πολλές φορές τὸ *ἐ*βουλήθησαν (νὰ γένει ἡ ἔνωσις τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν) 17th c./16th c., *Chron. Ps.-Dorothea* (1631) 229.40-2

τοῦ ἑκακοφάνη πολλὰ, *ἔ*στοντας νὰ *εἶ*ναι ὅλοι μίας πίστεως 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 31.11-12

στάντες καὶ ... νὰ μὴν *ἔ*χω νὰ δώσω 1614, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 219, 206.15-6

στάντες νὰ *ἔ*χε γυναῖκα *ἐ*παρμένη 1628, Crete, VARZELIOTI 2000: 2, 333.16

νὰ μὴν *ἔ*χη ἐξουσίαν ... κανέναν ... νὰ τοὺς ἐνοχλήσῃ, *ἔ*στοντας ὁπού *ἔ*γινε μὲ κοινήν γνώμην καὶ βουλήν πάντων τῶν καθηγουμένων 1661, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 71, 200.13-15

θέλω τὸν ἐγκαλέσειν εἰς τὴν ὥραν τῆς κρίσεως, *ἐπειδὴ* καὶ *ἀ*φιέρωσά το διὰ ψυχικὴν μου σωτηρίαν 1683, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 18, 45.8-10

κανέναν δὲν ἀπεκοτοῦσε νὰ φανερωθῇ, *ἔ*στοντας ἐκεῖνοι οἱ φοβεροὶ πειράτες νὰ *ἔ*στεκόντασι μὲ τὸ σπαθὶ στὸ χέρι 18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 22.9-11

*ἐ*πειδὴ *τις* καὶ *δὲν* *ἔ*ξεύρει νὰ γράφῃ 1706, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1941: 1, 110.31

NOTES

(i) With verbs of emotion *ὅτι, διότι, γιατί* etc. come close to introducing complements, cf. *I am angry because/that ...* :

τὸν αὐθεντόπουλόν μου συγχαίρομαι *ὅτι* *ἠ*τύχησεν καὶ *ἐ*κέρδησεν βρεφόθεν ?12th c. or 13th-14th c., *Eisit. f.1v.18-20*

τὰ ροῦχα ... μέρτσα τὰ ἔλαβα καὶ κρῖμα εἰς τὸν κόπον ... *γιατὶ* *ἐ*βγήκε πολλὰ ἀχαμνὸ 1696, Ochrid, MERTZIOS 1947a: 9, 214.10-12

(ii) A natural extension is the substitution of factive *ὁπού* "in so far as" in later texts when the cause/reason is regarded as true (though many of the clauses in question can also be treated as relatives, see 5.3.3):

νὰ ἐβγοῦμεν ἀπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ ἀνόλπιδου χρέους, *ὁπού* δὲν *ἔ*χομεν ... ἄλλου ἑλπίδα 1583, ?Athens, MERTZIOS 1954: 1, 124.28-9

θωρῶντας τὸν καὶ λυπῶντας τὸν *ὁπού* *ἦ*τονε εἰς τὴ φυλακὴ 1612, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 752, 652-653.4-6

καὶ ἴτα νὰ τὸν ἐδεκτῶ ἐγὼ νὰ τοῦ κάμω ἡ γι-ἀνήπορη, *ὁπού* ... ἴτα *εἶ*χα ἐγὼ *γί*νει στὸ κόσμῳ; 1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 4, 171.15-16

(iii) Since there is a temporal relation between causes/reasons and main-clause events, and since *καὶ* is regularly used to link clauses denoting events that follow one another

in time, *καί* is often used to conjoin clauses that stand in a causal relationship in place of formal subordination, especially in more colloquial styles. Some degree of grammaticalization appears to be involved given the adaptation of *καί* to *ὅκαί* to resemble a "true" conjunction:

τὰ ποκάμισα ..., μὴν ἔχῃς καμίαν ἔγνοια, ὅκαί ... θέλω σου τὰ πέψει
1498, Crete, Manoussacas 1976: 3, 21.15–16

μηδὲν πέψης ἄτυχους (μαντατοφόρους) καί χάσης πολλὰ
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* O 22.35–6

ἀπὸ πτωχὸν μὴ δανεισθῇς καί κλαίει καὶ ἀκολουθᾷ σε! 16th c./?, *Paroim.* H 44

ὅς πάμενε, συντρόφισσες, κ' ἐπέρασε ἡ ὥρα 17th–18th c./17th c., *Zinon Prol.* 168

- (iv) Conjunctions normally introducing other types of adverbial clause are occasionally used causally, e.g. *ἀφῶν/ἀφόν* etc., lit. "after", or *ἄμα* etc., lit. "as soon as" (cf. 3.4.1), *καθῶς* etc., lit. "as" (cf. 3.7):

ὀλίγοι ἄνθρωποι ἡμποροῦν νὰ τὸ (κάστρο) ἔχουσι φυλάττει, ἀφῶν ἔχει
σωτάρχισιν κ' ἐνὶ ἀφίρωμένον 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8273–4

ἔθελέν τοὺς ἀξαμινιάσειν ἐκεῖνος μὲ τὸν βισκούντην, καθῶς ἦσαν κλησιαστικοί
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 32.7–8

ἄμα σὲ ἀπάντησα ἐδῶ, κάνει χρεῖα νὰ σὲ πάρω 16th c., *Nov. II* 162.26–7

- (v) Very occasionally in later texts a *νὰ*-clause (± *διὰ*) is used to express a cause/reason without a preceding conjunction; the subject is always omitted, being coreferential with the main-clause subject, and the verb is marked for aspect but not for tense (cf. 3.4.2, NOTE (i) for similar temporal clauses):

ἐπῆγες καὶ κόντρα τῆς φύσεώς σου, νὰ μὴν λυπηθῇς τὰ παιδία σου, καὶ τὸν
πλοῦτον ... νὰ λογιᾷσης γιὰ μουδὲ τίποτε, καὶ ἐπρόκρινες νὰ εἶσαι
17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 33.29–32

"you went against your nature, not pitying your children and caring nothing for wealth, you ..."

ἔνας παράσιτος ὁποῦ ... ἐκράζουτον Φαγόςτος, διὰ νὰ εἶναι ἄνθρωπος χοντρός
..., εἶπεν τοῦ Βασιλέως 17th c., *Bertoldos* 28.2–5

"a parasite, who, being a fat man, was called 'Glutton', spoke to the king"

3.6 Concessive Clauses

- (39) Concessive clauses are introduced by (*ἂν*) *καλὰ καί*, *ἀνέναι καί* (when following a main clause), *μὲ ὅλο πού*, "(al)though"; simple *ἂν καί* is not attested in the corpus before the 17th/18th c. They may also be introduced by *καὶ ἂν*, *καὶ ἂς* "even if"/"even though". See also on conditionals in 3.3.

Conjunctions meaning "although" take present/past indicatives, those meaning "even if/even though" naturally take the same range of tenses as the corresponding conditional conjunction.

ὁ Θεὸς ἐλευθέρωση σε καὶ ἂς εἶσαι ψωμοζήτητς 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 216

αὐτὸς ὁ Εὐλάλιος καὶ ἂν ἔλθῃ ... τοιοῦτον οὐκ ἐξορθώνουσι ... πατέρα τῶν
γραμματικῶν 15th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* (Maiuri) 43–7

τὸν κόσμον καὶ ἂν ἐγύρευες, κάλλιον οὐκ εἶχες εὐρεῖν 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 984

τὸ ἔγραψα ... διὰ νὰ μὴν ἀπελπίζεται τινὰς κὰν ἁμαρτωλὸς πολλὰ καὶ ἂν ἔναι
16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 415.22–3

σαράντ' ἁγίους καὶ ἂν ἔκραζες μὲ πόθο νὰ γυρεύης, τὲς λειτουργιῆς σου χάνεις τες,
μὰ μένα δὲν μοῦ φεύγεις 16th c., *Alfav.* 10 71–2

χτύπησε, καλὰ καὶ γρινιασμένη τὴν εἶδα ὄψες ..., μὴν εἶν' κιανεὶς στὸ σπίτι της
17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Katz.* II.93–5

κι ἂν εἶναι κι ὥς τὴ σήμερο δὲν εἶναι παντρεμένη, μ' ὅλο πού τόσοι βασιλιοὶ τὴν ἔχου
ζητημένη, δὲν ἔν' παρὰ γιατί πονεῖ ... ἡ καρδιά μου
17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Erof.* I.533–5

γιὰ ποῖα 'φορμὴ μακρὰ νὰ θὰ γυρεύης θεριά ..., ἂν ἐν κ' ἐσὺ ἔχεις ἕνα θεριὸ ἄγριο
πλιά σιμά σου 17th c., *Pist. voskos* I 1.79–83

ὁ ὁποῖος, ἂν καλὰ καὶ εἶμαι ἁμαρτωλός, μὲ ὅλον ἐτοῦτο ἐπρογνώριζα ἕως ὅπου
μέλλει νὰ φθάσῃ ἡ 'Εκκλησία 17th c., *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 57–9

καὶ μοιράσασιν ... τὴν ἄνωθεν φυτέαν ..., καλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τὴν ὥραν ὅπου ἀπόθανεν ὁ
ποτὲ ἀφέντης Ξερίτης ἐτύχαινε νὰ τὴ μοιράσου
1605, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 299, 285.4–5

ἀγκαλὰ καὶ εἶναι πτωχεῖα εἰς τοῦτο τὸ νησί, μολαταῦτα ... τοὺς ἐβοηθήσαμεν
1684, Patmos, HOFMANN 1928: 9a, 70.13–15

ἐγὼ βασιλικὴν τιμὴν σοῦ ἔκαμα, ἂν καὶ ἦσουν καὶ ἐχθρός μου
18th c./17th c., *Alex. Fyll.* 67.24–5

δὲν εἶναι ἴδιον τῶν ... καβαλιέρων τὸ νὰ δείχνουν τὲς πληγὰς τους, ἂν καὶ νὰ ἦτον
τόσες μεγάλες ὅπου νὰ ἐβγαίνουν τὰ ἄντερα τους 18th c., *Don Kis.* 47.11–13

NOTES

- (i) Relative clauses introduced by *ὅπου* (see 5.3.3) may sometimes take on a concessive/temporal force ("though"/"when") and express a reaction to/contrast with what has preceded ("whereas"):

εἵμαστεν χορτασμένοι ... πού 'μαστεν πεινασμένοι. ... τί νὰ γένῃ, πού φάγαμε τὰ
ἄλογα, ὅπου 'μαστεν χρειασμένοι; 16th c., *Alex. Rim.* 899–902

ἀμὴ δεῖξε μου τὸ πῶς ἐσεῖς γίνεσθε, ὅπου γυναῖκες οὐδὲν ἔχετε
16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 44.11–12 (Konstantinopulos)

ἀπ' αὐτὴν (περηφανία) ἐξέπεσε Σατὰν ὁ ἑωσφόρος καὶ 'γίνῃ σκοτεινὸμορφος,
ὅπουτον λαμπροφόρος 17th c., ΜΑΤΘΑΙΟΣ ΜΥΡ., *Ist. Vlach.* 1603–4

ἐκεῖνος ἦθελεν εἶσταν ζωντανός, ὅπου τῶρα εἶναι ἀπεθαμένος
17th c., *Bertoldin.* 96.26–7

3.7 Comparative Clauses

(40) Clauses comparing the manner in which a main-clause event took place with some other eventuality (e.g. *A happened [as X hoped (it would)] [in the (same) way that B happened]*) are introduced by *ὡς/(ὡ)σάν/ὥσπερ*; (*ὡς*) *καθώς/καθά/καταπῶς*; *οἷον/ὅμοιον/γοιόν/ὡς γοῖον/ὡς γοιόν*. These conjunctions are used with indicatives when the event compared is real, "(just) as", and with *νά* + conditional forms when it is hypothetical/counterfactual, "as if".

There are no examples in the database of (*ὡς*) *καθώς*, *καθά*, *καταπῶς* used with conditional verb forms, and these appear to have been used exclusively for accurate/factual comparisons.

"Ογοῖον, γοιόν, ὡς γοῖον are characteristically Cypriot forms.

Indicatives (present, imperfect, aorist, pluperfect)

οὐ γὰρ εἶν ἀνάγκη ... περὶ πίστεως δογματίζειν ..., *καθώς* καὶ *προεῖπα*
12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 9 150.23–4

ἄς μείνη ὁ τόπος ἔρημος, ἄς γένῃ *ὡς* ἦτον πρῶτον 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 283

καθεὶς κοιμάται *ὡς* *ἔστρωσεν*, *ὡς* *ἔσπειρεν* θερίζει 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 365

ἐκίνησαν τὰ σάλια μου ... *νά* τὴν ἐπέπεσα *καθά* ἦτον *φουσκωμένη*
14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* IV 219–20

κι ὤμοσε ὁ μπάιλος πρότερον καὶ τότε οἱ λίζιοι ἀνθρώποι, *νά* εἶναι δοῦλοι καὶ πιστοὶ
... *ὡς* *ἔνι* τὸ συνήθειον 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7930–2

ἦτον πρώτη σύμβια ... τοῦ ἀφέντη τῆς Καρύταινας, *ὡσάν* σέ τὸ *ἀπηγήθη*
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8004–5

ἔχομέν σε ἀδελφόν καὶ συλλειτουργόν καὶ ἤδη, *καθώς* ὁρᾷς, καὶ γράφομέν σοι τὰ περὶ
τούτου 1376, Constantinople, KODER et al. 2001: 255, 486.16–17

αὐτὸς ἔδωκεν τὸ κενὸν χρέος, *ὥσπερ* *χρεωστοῦμεν* οἱ ἀπαξάπαντες
14th–15th c., Athos, LEFORT et al. 1995: 95, 147–8.5–6

ὠρισεν *νά* τὰ καταλύσω, καὶ *νά* τὰ χαλάσω ἐκ θεμελίων, *ὥσπερ* *ἐποίησα* καὶ τὴν
Θεσσαλονίκη 1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.16

μηδὲν μετανώσης *ὡς* *γοιόν* *ἐποίκες* καὶ τὲς ἄλλε(ς) φορές
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 206.24–5

μωρὸν παιδὶν τὸ φτιάζουν, *γοιόν* τὸν *θωρεῖς* ἐδὰ ζωγγραφισμένον
16th c./15th–16th c., *Cypr. Canz.* 18.15–16

ἔγινεν ἔτσι *ὡς* *καθώς* εἶπεν καὶ ἐπροφήτευσεν ἐκείνη ἡ γραία
16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 334.9–10

ἔλα *νά* πᾶμε εἰς τὸ σπῖτι μου, *νά* σταθῇς *νά* ῥδινιάσω τὰ παιδιὰ μου, τὸ σπῖτι μου,
καταπῶς εἶναι ἡ τάξη 16th c., *Nov.* II 162.29–31

σέ παρακαλοῦμε *νά* εἴμεσταν Φράγκοι λίμπεροι, *ὡς* *καθώς* *γράφομε* ἀπὸ πᾶνω
1571, Mani, CHASIOIS 1970: 6.1, 242.41–2

εἵντα μιλοῦσι τὰ πουλιά ξεύρει, *σάν* *εἶχ'* ἀκούσει
17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Panor.* I.267

οἱ Οὐγγαροὶ, ἂν ἠθέλανε ἐμπῆ ᾗ τὸν πόλεμον *ὡσάν* *ἐμπήκανε* οἱ Φραντζέζοι,
ἐκερδέζανε τὸν πόλεμο 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 33.11–12

τὶ ἄλλον καλὸν θε *νά* ἐκδέχονται ἀπ' ἐκείνους, μόνον *νά* παίρνουσιν, ἂν ἔχουν
τίβοτις, *καθώς* τὸ *κάνουν* τὰ κοινόβια 1615, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 6, 175.50–1

εἰς τὸ τέλος τῆς θέλει εὔρει πολλὰ ἀγαθὰ, *καθώς* τὰ *εὐρήκασι* καὶ οἱ πρωτύτεροι
17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 30.9–10

εἶδα τὸ ἄστρον *σάν* μοῦ *ἔλέγασιν* οἱ χωριάτες, καὶ ἐπληροφόρηθηκα
17th c., *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 62–3

τοῖ γάμους σου ἔρχεται *νά* τιμῇσῃ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς Πέρσις, *σάν* *εἶχα* σου *μιλήσει*
17th c., TROILOS, *Rodol.* III.215–16

ἐδώσαμεν καὶ τοῦ Κουτλουμουσίου μοναστηρίου τὸν Ἅγιον Νικόλαον Σιμάτου ...,
ὡς *καθώς* *διαλαμβάνει* τὸ παλαιὸν γράμμα τοῦ Πρωτάτου
1661, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 71, 200.8–11

τὸ ἄλλον ἡμισον ἐχάρισεν το ... καὶ *νά* γινε ὅλον τοῦ μοναστηριοῦ βακούφιν *ὅμοιον*
τὸ *εἶχεν* καὶ πρῶτα 1665, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 7, 19.8–11

Conditional Forms

ὁ ρῆγας ὠρισεν ... ὅσοι ... χρεωστοῦν ὁμάτζια, τοῦ Ρούσου *νά* τὰ ποιήσουσιν ...
ὥσπερ *νά* ἦτο ὁλοστινὸς ὁ ρῆγας ἀπατός του 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7858–62

ἐκλαπεν καὶ ἐθρήνησεν *ὥσπερ* *νά* *εἶχεν* *χάσει* τὸ ρηγάτον <τὸ> τῆς Φραγκίας
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8179–80

ἐπαρέδωκέν του καὶ τὸ κάτεργον, *ὡς* *γοῖον* *νά* *ἔχεν* εἶσται δικόν του
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 12.17–18

ἐγδύνονται ... ἀπὸ τὰ σπῖτιαν καὶ ἀπὸ ὅλα τὰς τὰ δικαιώματα *σάν* *νά* μὴν τὰ
θέλασιν *ἔχει* ποτὲ 1592, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 19, 74.13–14

τοῦ ὁποίου δίδει αὐτοριτάν, *ὡσάν* *νά* ἦτον τὸ ἐδικόν της κορμίν, ὅτι *νά* ἡμπορῇ *νά*
τῆνε ντεφεντέρη 1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 30, 49.4

κάθα λογῆς ψυχικὸν γῆ χάρη ὁποῦ *νά* ἔκαμεν ... γιὰ τὸ ἀνωθεν ἀμπέλι *νά* εἶναι
κομμένα καὶ ἀνουλάδα *ὡσάν* ποτὲ *νά* μὴν *εἶχεν* *γενεῖ*
1610, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 651, 568.6–7

NOTE

- (i) There is overlap between manner and temporal conjunctions reflected, for example, in the dual use of (*ὡ*)*σάν*, "as"/"when", cf. on temporal clauses in 3.4.

- (41) Clauses comparing less favoured alternatives to prospective/hypothetical situations presented in a main clause (e.g. *X will/would do A [rather than (do) B]*) are introduced by *παρά* *νά* + subjunctive (prospective) or conditional (hypothetical/counterfactual). Clauses comparing unrealized alternatives to real-time events (e.g. *X did A [rather than (doing) B]*), or activities carried out to a greater/lesser degree than such events (e.g. *X did A [more/less than (s/he did) B]*), are introduced by *παρά* *πού* + indicative.

Prospective

- σήμερον ἄς ἀποθάνωμεν παρὰ νὰ ἐντραποῦμεν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5396
κάλλιον τὸ ἔχω νὰ ἀποθάνω, παρὰ νὰ μοῦ σηκώσῃ ἐκείνον ἀποῦ μοῦ ἔδωκεν
 16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 24.7–8
 κι' ἴντα μπορῶ, νὰ ζήσης, παρὴ στὸ λάκκο σήμερο ... νὰ πὰ σὲ θάψω ...;
 17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, *Katz.* III.112–14

Hypothetical/Counterfactual

"Would Have"

- ἤθελεν κάλλιον νὰ εἶχεν χάσει μίαν ἀπὸ τὲς χώρες του ..., παρὰ νὰ εἶχασιν ποσῶς
 τὸν Κουραδὴ σκοτώσει 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7085–7

"Would"

- πρῶτα ν' ἀπόθαναν καὶ νὰ τοὺς ἀκληρήσαν, παρὰ νὰ τοὺς ἐβγάλασιν ἐκ τὰ συνήθεια
 τοῦ ἔχουν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7904–5

Real Time

- αὐτὸς πλέον ἐβλάβετονε παρὰ ἀποῦ ὠφελεῖτονε
 17th c./16th c., MOREZINOS, *Klini* 56.23–4

NOTES

- (i) In texts from the end of the period covered by this Grammar παρὰ (ποῦ) νὰ + subjunctive is also used with comparative temporal adverbs (= "sooner/later than"), after ἄλλος (= "(anyone/anything) other than"), and with negated verbs of ability (= "cannot (be otherwise) than"/"cannot but"):
- ἐδιάβη καὶ ἔβαλε τοὺς χριστιανούς 'ς τὴν μέση πρωτύτερα παρὰ νὰ σώσῃ ὁ
 Σιγισμόντος 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 33.20–1
- γιατὶ ἔχουν τόσες παρρησιές π' ἂν εἶχα ἑκατὸ γλώσσες ... τὰ χεῖλη δὲν μπορούσι
παρὰ ποῦ ν' ἀποφρίξουνε καὶ νὰ μὴ δυναστοῦσι
 17th–18th c./17th c., *Prol. Epain. Kef.* 65–8
- δὲν θέλω ἄλλο ἀπὸ λόγου σου παρὰ νὰ γυρίσῃς εἰς τὸ Τομπόζο, νὰ ὑπάγῃς ἐκ
 μέρους μου εἰς ἐκείνην τὴν σινιόρα 18th c., *Don Kis.* 51.16–18
- (ii) Adverbs/conjunctions with closely related meanings (e.g. "except", "but for") are used in the same way:
- πῶς νὰ τὸν ἀποδέξεται, πῶς νὰ τὸν χαιρετήσῃ, εἰμὴ νὰ λέγῃ ὅτι ἄπιστος καὶ νὰ
 τὸν θανατώσῃ; 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4898–9
- ἡ παροῦσα μου ταπεινὴ δὲν εἶναι διὰ ἄλλην αἰτίαν πάρεξ νὰ τῆς ἀναγγεῖλω, ὅτι
 1658, Cyprus, TSIRPANLIS 1973: 106, 160.5–6
- (iii) Occasionally περὶ/περοῦ appears in place of παρὰ, especially in texts composed in a more vernacular style:
- κάλλιον τὸ ἔχω, θάνατον σήμερον ν' ἀποθάνω περὶ νὰ εἰποῦσιν ἀλλαχοῦ νὰ μὲ
 κατηγορήσουν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1134–5

- κάλλιον τοῦ νὰ ἀποθάνῃ περὶ νὰ μείνῃ ἀνεργος τοῦ νὰ μὴ διαφορήσῃ
 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8187–8
- ἔκρινα ὅτι νὰ καγοῦν τὰ κάτεργα καὶ ξύλα περοῦ λαὸς ὁ τῶν Γραικῶν ἐνωθῇ μὲ
 τοὺς Φράγκους 16th c./15th c., LIMEN., *Velis.* (Λ) 265–6
- κάλλιον εἶναι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου νὰ κείτεται ἀπὸ μεγάλην ἀνάγκην περὶ νὰ ἔχῃ τὰ
 βάρη τοῦ ἀνθρώπου 16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 28.19–21 (Konstantinopoulos)

3.8 Other Adverbial Clauses

- (42) An articular (nominalized) infinitive may be governed by a preposition and function in the manner of an English gerund: *after/because of/by ... [(X) doing Y]*. In more popular styles νὰ + subjunctive may be substituted for the infinitive when the meaning is one of purpose or intent.

Only in more elevated writing can the article be inflected in a case other than the accusative or the infinitive have an overt (accusative) subject of its own; normally, an empty subject position is controlled by the subject of the main verb.

In general, these constructions are characteristic of texts from the earlier medieval period, and survive later chiefly as formulaic phrases.

τό + Infinitive

- ἦρξεν ὁ Λιεζάρης εἰς τὸ λέγειν 1142, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 6, 303.25
μετὰ τὸ δοῦναι τὴν ἀπόφασιν, καρτερεῖ ὁ κριτὴς ἡμέρας ι'
 ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 73.170–1
- τὸ πολὺ τῆς ἡδονῆς ἐλαττωμένον εἶχε ἐκ τοῦ μὴ φαίνεσθαι τινα παρὰ τοῦ κήπου τότε
 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 287–8
- ὁ μέγας Κωνσταντῖνος μετὰ τὸ βαπτισθῆναι εἶπεν
 17th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* R 65.41–2

NOTE

- (i) Nominalized infinitives governed by a preposition are also used to complement adjectives, e.g. "nice to look at", "hard to please" etc.:
- ὁ τυφλὸς ἐκεῖνος ἐγέννηκεν ἐξάκουστος καὶ εἰς τὸ βλέπειν φίνος
 17th c., PROSOPSAS, *Peri tyflou* 143–4

τό + νὰ-clause

- τὸ κατοῦδιν μας στῆσας εἰς τὸ τραπέζιν, διὰ τὸ νὰ εἰποῦν ὅτι ἐποίησεν ἐκεῖνο τὴν
 ζημίαν 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* III 264–5
- ἀφίνω καὶ ἐπτὰ ἱερεῖς ἀπὸ δύο ὑπερπύρων σιτάριν εἰς τὸ νὰ μὲ ποιήσουν ἀπὸ μ'
 λειτουργιῶν ὁ καθένας ἕκαστος ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 82.55

- (43) Prepositions/adverbs used as conjunctions meaning "without" take a finite clause containing a subjunctive (rarely a conditional) verb-form marked with νὰ.

- πᾶσα στρατιώτης εὐγενής πρέπει νὰ τοὺς λυπᾶται διατὸ ἀπέθαναν ἄδικα, δίχως νὰ πολεμήσουν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1160–1
- ἡμεῖς ... οὐδὲν ἔχομεν τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἄνευ νὰ ᾔσαν κι ἄλλοι 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7911–12
- ἀφότου ἔφυγεν δίχα νὰ πολεμήσῃ ... πῶς ἔμπορουμε ἡμεῖς πεζοὶ νὰ βλάψωμεν τὸν τόπον; 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 9177–81
- πολλοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἔσφαξε δίχως νὰ ἔχουν πταῖσμα 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1454
- καὶ θέλεις εἶσταιν ἀπότομος ... νὰ τοὺς ὀρίζῃς νὰ πηγαίνουν εἰς τὲς χρῆσε(ς) σου χωρὶς νὰ ἔχῃς ἔννοιαν ἵνα νὰ τοὺς πλερώσῃς 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 22.30–3
- νὰ δώσῃ τὴν πρόβα πασανοῦ κομματίου τῆς ἀλτελαρίας ὅπου ἡ μπάλλα του νὰ ᾖ ἀπὸ βολίμι καθάριο χωρὶς νὰ ᾔχῃ σίδερο ?15th–16th c., *Heptanese, MORGAN* 1954: 60.33–4
- ἔπεσε ἡ τέντα του ... χωρὶς ἄνεμον καὶ χωρὶς νὰ τήνε σείσῃ τινάς 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 39.3

4

Verbs and Verb Phrases

Verb Phrases (VPs) function as the predicates of clauses (see 1.1). The “core” of every VP is a verb form, the head of the phrase, together with its complements, if any. The traditional subcategorization into intransitive verbs (taking no object complement), transitive verbs (taking a direct object complement) and ditransitive verbs (taking both a direct object and an indirect object or other additional complement) deals only with nominal and certain prepositional phrase complements; other subclasses of verb may also take, e.g., sentential complements; cf. Chapter 2.

Verbs govern their complements in a variety of ways. Item-specific requirements (e.g. the choice of preposition in *rely on*) are a matter for the lexicon, but some overall principles can be established. General government requirements include the assignment of specified cases to nominal phrases carrying particular grammatical functions (see 5.1), and of particular conjunctions or verb forms to different types of complement clause (see Chapter 2). Prepositional phrase complements of various types may also be required to have particular prepositions (6.1). The various “markers” of complement status are essentially grammatical in nature, though there may be additional semantic factors in specific cases.

A VP may also contain a range of more “peripheral” adverbial adjuncts, including adverbs/adverb phrases (6.2), nominal and prepositional phrases used adverbially (5.1 and 6.1), and adverbial clauses (Chapter 3). These are unmarked by the verb, and the combination of lexical, morphological and syntactic properties in any given adjunct typically carries semantic rather than grammatical information.

This chapter deals specifically with the grammatical categories and functions of verbs themselves, i.e. independently of their co-occurring complements and adjuncts, whose properties are discussed elsewhere, as noted above.

Verb forms are either finite, i.e. inflected for values of person (1st, 2nd or 3rd) and number (singular or plural), or non-finite, i.e. not so inflected; in LMedG/EMG the non-finite forms comprise gerunds/participles and infinitives. Agreement of finite verbs with their subjects in person and number is an overt marker of the predication relation (1.1). This relation also holds in non-finite clauses, but the lack of person/number agreement in non-finite verb forms is typically associated with the absence of overt subjects leading to grammatical and referential “control” of the empty subject position by the subject of the main clause; gerunds and participles used “absolutely” do, however, have overt subjects of their own. See 2.2; 3.4, Rules (36) and (37), and 3.8.

The full set of finite verb forms, including periphrases with finite auxiliaries, is organized into paradigms, each of which is defined by specific values for some or all of the following categories: time reference (past, present, future), aspect (perfective, imperfective), mood (indicative, subjunctive, imperative), and voice (active, [middle: residual as a

distinct category for the perfective stem in some verbs], mediopassive). Time reference is a property only of indicatives and of non-indicative forms that may be used, *inter alia*, to refer to the future; only active transitive and ditransitive verbs allow grammatical alternation of voice; non-finite infinitives, gerunds and participles are marked only for aspect and voice (though gerunds are always active in form and meaning, and participles [residual apart from the perfect passive] agree with their controlling nominals in number, gender and case, but not in person).

Each member of each paradigm then carries a particular person/number combination (1 sg., 2 sg., 3 sg.; 1 pl., 2 pl., 3 pl.) so that every finite form can be given an unambiguous identifying label, e.g. "2 pl. past perfective indicative mediopassive of V" (in traditional terms "2 pl. aorist indicative passive of V"). Neither the more detailed definitions nor the traditional names necessarily indicate the full range of functions that the forms in a given paradigm may fulfil. Details are given below.

Among the grammatical categories of verbs, aspect alone is marked by stem-variation, sometimes by suppletion. Other morphological variation marking different combinations of grammatical values in verb forms is located in the inflectional endings added to the aspect stems. The prefixed augment, partly co-marking reference to the past in indicatives alongside specific sets of endings, is an exception. For full details see the relevant chapters of Part III, *Verb Morphology*.

For the sake of convenience and familiarity, the traditional term "tense" will continue to be used below to identify particular paradigms (e.g. the "present indicative" etc.), but it should be remembered that the "tenses" so defined are merely the names of sets of forms sharing the same values for the verbal categories of time reference, aspect, voice and mood.

4.1 Person and Number

(44) All finite verb forms are marked for one of the permissible combinations of person and number. These (pro)nominal categories appear on verb forms as markers of agreement with a subject, which is regularly omitted if it is itself pronominal in content and unemphatic (cf. 1.1).

- 1 sg. νύμφην ... πέμπω σε τὴν περιπόθητόν μου
?12th c. or 13th–14th c., *Eisit.* f.8v.15–16
- 2 sg. καὶ τὸ μεγαλογράμματον ἱμάτων ... ἢ χάρισον ἢ πώλησον ἢ δὸς ὅπου
κελεύεις
14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* I 60–1
- 3 sg. τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ ἐπαρέδωκεν
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7804
- 1 pl. οὕτως σὲ τὴν ἐδώκαμεν
16th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* O 22
- 2 pl. τὸν κύρην τοῦ ἐσκοτώσατε
15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1368
- 3 pl. λέγουσι, δέσποτά μου, καὶ ἱκετικῶς ἀναφέρουσι πρὸς τὴν πανιερότητά σου
ὅτι γραφὴν τῆς πανιερότητός σου εἶδασιν 1615, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 6, 174.6–8

4.2 Voice

Voice is a morphological category of all LMedG/EMG verb forms. Many verbs have *either* active *or* mediopassive forms, but those that have both sets are utilized in the realization of the active/passive alternation: only sentences containing active transitive verbs, prototypically with agentive subjects, have passive counterparts containing mediopassive forms. Thus neither sentences with active intransitive verbs nor those with transitive deponent verbs (i.e. having mediopassive inflection but active meanings) allow regular passivization, either because the key grammatical function (object) is absent, as in the second example below, or because the relevant morphology (mediopassive) is already deployed, as in the first:

ἐκεῖνο ποῦ ἦσαν τὰ δένδρα οὐδὲ μᾶς τὸ ξηγήθη

16th c., *Alex. Rim.* 2116

τρέχουσιν εἰς τὴν κάμεραν

17th c./16th c., MOREZINOS, *Klini* 51.1–2

Passivization involves a reorganization of sentence structure whereby the noun phrase that was the direct object of the active verb, prototypically denoting the patient of the action, stands as the subject of the corresponding mediopassive verb. This in turn entails suppression of the active subject, though an agentive noun phrase may still be included optionally in a passive sentence within a prepositional phrase headed by ἀπό "by" (+ accusative). Active/passive sentence pairs are broadly synonymous in that the same situation is described in both, but different participants are foregrounded according to whether the agent or patient of the relevant scenario is represented by the subject noun phrase.

The functional range of LMedG/EMG mediopassive forms is broader than that of *be*-passives in English, and reflects some of the characteristics of the middle voice of AG. In the case of "washing", for example, an individual X may (a) *wash someone/something* (active, X = the agent), (b) *get (himself/herself) washed* (middle, X = both the agent and the patient/experiencer), or (c) *get/be washed by someone* (passive, X = the patient). Many verbs in LMedG/EMG have mediopassive paradigms with middle-type meanings alongside, and sometimes instead of, passive ones. In suitably supporting contexts plural mediopassive forms may also be given a reciprocal interpretation in which two or more participants are understood to be both the agents and the patients/experiencers of the action in question.

(45) Active transitive verbs normally have a corresponding mediopassive paradigm. Use of the mediopassive forms involves demotion of the active subject (which is either suppressed or included as an agentive adjunct marked by ἀπό) and promotion of the active direct object to subject status.

With a few verbs, especially δίνω/δίδω "give" and synonyms, the indirect object may also be promoted to subject position (see example below).

The interpretation of the mediopassive subject, as fulfilling the single role of patient (passive reading) or the dual roles of agent + patient/experiencer (middle reading), is partly lexically determined and partly a matter of contextual determination. In the case of middle readings no agentive adjunct may be added.

Passive Reading

- ἀπῆλθεν με εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ ἐκρατήθη μῆνας τέσσαρας
993, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1970: 10, 124.13–14
- ὑπὸ πατρός ἐθλίβετον, μυριοκαταφρονᾶτον
16th c./14th c., Velth. 38
- ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἀναπνοῇ ... αἱ πράξεις τῶν ἀνθρώπων λυγιάζονται καὶ δοκιμάζονται
16th c., Pist. kekoim. 567–8
- ὅσα κανισκεύονται ... εἰς τὸν Θεόν, δὲν στρέφει ... τὴν ἀντίδοσιν τόσον εἰς
ἐκείνους ὅπου κανισκεύουν ὥς γιόν ἐκείνους ὅπου διδούνται
16th c., Pist. kekoim. 390–2
- τοῦ ἤδωκεν ὁ Θεὸς μίαν λέπραν ..., ἀπὸ ἧτονε νὰ σαπηθῇ ὅλη του ἡ σάρκα
17th c./16th c., MOREZINOS, Klini 56.20–2
- ἐπληροφρήθημε ἀπὸ πιστὸν Χριστιανόν
17th c., PAPASYNAD., Chron. I §31.71–2
- ἐρχομένη καμία ὑψηλοτάτην δικαιοσύνην, θέλομε κριθεῖν
1688, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 743, 1013.14–15

Middle Reading

- σύντομα σηκωνόμεθαι
16th c./13th–14th c., Liv. α 3087
- καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἰσιάσθηκεν με τὸν σεβαστοκράτωρ
14th c., Chron. Mor. H 7971
- ἐγέρθηκα καὶ ἐντύθη
16th c./15th c., FALIEROS, Ist. On. 124
- ἐπῆγεν ὁ Τζωρτζῆς καὶ εὔρεθην με τὸν σιρ Τουμάς
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., Chron. A 30.7–8
- ἡ ἀφεντία τῆς κυρᾶς ... γρικᾶται με τὴν κυρὰν τὴν ρήγαιναν
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., Chron. A 30.14–15
- ἐσυναπαντήθησαν με τὸν σουλτὰν Μπαγιαζίτη καὶ ἐνίκησε ὁ Μπαγιαζίτης
17th c., Chron. Tourk. Soult. 31.1–2

4.3 Mood

The morphologically encoded moods of LMedG/EMG are the indicative, the subjunctive (only partly distinct from the indicative even in writing, and regularly marked with *νά*/ᾶς) and the imperative. Together these comprise the full set of finite verb forms. Complete paradigms of finite forms typically involve combinations of monolectic items with periphrastic ones, e.g. monolectic imperfect and aorist indicatives are used to refer to the past, but past-referring pluperfects are periphrastic, as are forms used to refer to the future (see 1.2 and for details on periphrastic forms III, 5).

Form and function do not correspond in a transparent fashion. The indicative is normally used to make statements about the real world, the subjunctive to express modal notions of futurity/possibility or necessity/obligation, and the imperative to give orders to a second person (the subjunctive fulfilling the corresponding roles for other persons). But autonomous modal verbs such as deontic *πρέπει* ‘it is necessary’ or epistemic *μπορεῖ/ἐνδέχεται* ‘is possible/likely’ have indicative forms despite being used to make modal statements. Similarly, infinitival periphrases with present indicative auxiliaries express futurity/

modality alongside *νά*-subjunctives, and infinitival periphrases with imperfect indicative auxiliaries describe hypothetical/counterfactual situations alongside bare imperfect indicatives or past-tense indicatives marked with modal *νά*. Furthermore, though the subjunctive carries an independent future/modal value when this contrasts with present- or past-time reference (e.g. in main, conditional or temporal clauses) or follows directly from the relevant function (e.g. in final clauses), in those subordinate clauses where it has replaced an infinitive (e.g. in grammaticalized future/modal auxiliaries (1.2.2), as a complement to other control verbs (2.2), or in temporal/causal adjuncts (3.4, Rule (36))), it expresses the lexical meaning of the relevant verb in a temporally and modally neutral way, with the relevant properties deriving instead from the lexical meaning of governing verbs (if any), which typically denote future aspirations and possibilities.

The issues are discussed in detail in Chapter 1, where the morphological and periphrastic forms associated with mood/modality are related to the making of statements (1.2), the issuing of commands and prohibitions (1.3), the asking of questions/issuing of exclamations (1.4), and the making of wishes (1.5).

4.4 Time Reference and Aspect

In LMedG/EMG time reference is a grammaticalized property of indicative verb forms (i.e. these are necessarily marked for it) when they are used in sentences that make statements or ask questions about the real world.

Locating events in time presupposes a temporal reference point, and in the default case this is taken to be the time of speaking/writing (‘the present’): eventualities denoted by sentences may be located before this point (‘in the past’), at this point (‘in the present’), or after this point (‘in the future’), as indicated by the choice of verbal morphology/verbal periphrasis. Though reference to the future is in principle treated on a par with reference to the past and present, the future cannot be a strictly factual domain and there is significant overlap in LMedG/EMG between forms that refer to the future and those that express various modal notions (see 1.2.2).

Sometimes an event may be marked as ‘past’ relative to another event that itself took place in the past or future with respect to the time of speaking/writing: pluperfects and future perfects perform this role in many languages, though these are rather marginal tenses in LMedG/EMG (see below). A secondary form of temporal relativity is involved in finite subordinate clauses dependent on main clauses containing verbs with past-time reference, cf. *he said that she would do X* with the corresponding direct statement *she will do X*. Such ‘sequence of tense’ phenomena are also relatively marginal in LMedG/EMG, where the tenses of the original statement, question etc. are usually preferred (see 2.1, Rule (22)).

Verbal aspect is also grammaticalized in LMedG/EMG, and in this case all verb forms are built either to a perfective or to an imperfective stem. In some periphrastic formations and non-finite forms, however, there is a clear tendency for one option to become dominant over time, with some consequential blurring of the usual aspectual contrast (see 1.2.2; 3.4, Rules (36) and (37)). There may also be some early indications of the loss of aspectual contrast in subjunctives in the Pontic region (see 4.4.5).

Unlike time reference, which is in principle an objective matter, choice of aspect reflects the speaker/writer's subjective "view" of a given eventuality without reference to its "actual" duration, whether in real/future time or in a possible/hypothetical world distinct from this one. Thus the same eventuality may be presented "perfectively" as a single complete whole with a beginning and an end (e.g. *the phone rang, will ring, may ring, would have rung*) or imperfectively as lacking one or both end-points, i.e. as continuing, progressing, habitual/repeated (e.g. *the phone was ringing, will be ringing, may be ringing, would have been ringing, used to ring*).

The choice of aspect is in principle free, though there are limitations deriving from the interaction of aspect with time reference (see below), and there are certain conventionalized preferences. In clauses of indefinite frequency (*whenever/each time X happened ...*), for example, the actions involved might be presented imperfectively (the sequence of recurring events is seen as open-ended) or perfectively (each individual action is seen as complete, leaving the open-endedness to be encoded in a co-occurring adverbial and/or a main-clause imperfective verb form). In LMedG/EMG there is a preference in these cases for perfective forms, while in MG imperfective forms have become the norm. In the following example the indefinitely repeated character of the action of the subordinate clause ("whenever I saw one") is made clear by the use of the imperfect in the main clause:

καὶ λάφιν δὲν μ' ἐγλύτωνεν, ... τὸ νὰ τὸ δῶ, τὸ δόξευα Om. Nehr. Vas. 46-7

The indicative "tenses" marked for both time reference and aspect are presented first. Forms unmarked for time reference (gerunds/participles and infinitives) or that carry inherent time reference (imperatives, future/modals and in part subjunctives and conditionals) are then considered in terms of their aspectual properties.

4.4.1 Present Indicative (Present Imperfective Indicative)

(46) Since the present moment is naturally conceived as progressing with the passage of time, the present indicative of lexically non-stative verbs in LMedG/EMG is built to the imperfective stem and used to describe activities that are viewed as ongoing/progressive at the present moment as it advances. Correspondingly, the present indicative of lexically stative verbs describes what is viewed as a state of the subject that continues to hold true as the present moment progresses; present states have a naturally characterizing quality for the period of their duration.

Progressive

ψεύδεται, φλυαρεῖ, μὴ τὸν πιστεύης! 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 133

τί θλίβεσαι τοσούτως; οὐ ξεύρεις εἰς ἐριζικὸν κοίτεται ἡ στρατεία; κὶ ὅποιος ἐξεύρει μηχανίαν καὶ πράττει μὲ πονηρίαν τοὺς ἀντρειωμένους καταλυεῖ κ' ἐπαίρνει τὴν ἀντρίαν τους 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4903-6

εἶναι ἀνάγκη πρὸ πάντων νὰ φροντίζετε τὴν παιδευσίν των καὶ τὰ ἥθη των, ... ἂν θέλετε νὰ ἔχουν τιμὴν ἐδῶ 1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 287.7-9

Stative

οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ συμφωνοῦν 12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 9 316.14-15

σὲ ἀγαπῶ 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 546.28-9

ἡ εὐγενεία σου εἶναι κατὰ τὸ παρὸν ὥσπερ διοικητῆς τῶν παίδων μετὰ τοῦ Κριτοπούλου 1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 287.6

NOTES

(i) In informal styles, and usually where the context makes things clear (e.g. where there is a future-referring conditional clause), the present indicative may also be used to refer to the future:

καὶ ἂν ἔχω ἐδῶ θανατωθῇν, τὴν κόρην οὐκ ἀφῆνω 15th-16th c./13th-14th c., *Liv.* α 2960
δὲ γιαίνεις ποτὲ ἀπὸ αὐτῆν τὴν πληγὴν, καημένε, μὰ ποθαίνεις, ἀνὲν κί' αὐτὰ τὰ φαγητὰ δὲ φάγῃς νὰ χορτάσῃς 17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Katz.* III.89-91

(ii) In the absence of a present perfective paradigm, formally imperfective present indicatives are used to comment on events taking place sequentially before the speaker's/hearer's eyes (e.g. *the emperor arrives, takes his seat and nods to his officials*). In LMedG/EMG this type of "historic" present is chiefly apparent in narrative texts, where it converts an account of past events into just such an eyewitness commentary:

ὥς ἔστεκα κ' ἐθώρουν τον, γυρίζει καὶ ὀμιλεῖ μου 16th c./15th c., Om. Nehr. Vas. 27
παρευθὺς ἀπαντονάρισεν ὅλες τὲς πρόσκαιρες δόξες ... καὶ πορεύεται κρυφίως εἰς τὴν ἔρημον 17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 33.6-8

(iii) Performative verbs (utterance of which in the 1st person present indicative constitutes a performance of the relevant action) are similarly perfective in force but necessarily imperfective in form:

ὅλα τὰ παραιτούμεθα 17th c., IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 4762

(iv) In some of the earliest texts there are occasional examples of periphrases formed from the verb "to be" + the present mediopassive participle:

εὐκολον ἔχουν τὸ νόημα διὰ τῆς χάριτος τοῦ θεοῦ· οὐκ εἶν γὰρ οὔτε ἀπ' ἐμῆς γνώσεως λαλούμενα 12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 9 310.11-12

(47) The present tense of the verb "to be" + the perfect mediopassive participle is widely used in LMedG/EMG to express a present state of the subject. In this construction the participle is in effect a predicative adjective and as such agrees with the subject in the usual way (1.1.2).

πολλὰ εἶσαι βαρεμένη 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 304

εἵμεθεν θλιμμένοι 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8419

εἶνε μισισμένος ἀποῦ 'ξ αὐτῆς μας! 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 252.30

ἐγὼ εἵμαιν σκοτωμένοι 16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 264.3 (Lolos)

ἐκεῖ πού εἶναι ἐνταφιασμένες καὶ οἱ δύο τῆς θυγατέρες

1684, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARARA et al. 1982/83: 436, 659.11-12

τὸ ὄνομά του εἶναι τιμημένο εἰς ἓνα βασιλικὸ χρυσόβουλλον

18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 18.6-7

NOTES

- (i) Correspondingly, the imperfect of "be" may be used to describe a past state of the subject:

ἦμουν στολισμένη

17th c., BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 180.18

- (ii) Less commonly, the present or past state of a direct object may be encoded using ἔχω/ εἶχα + perfect passive participle, which agrees with the object:

τὸν γρόθον του εἰς τὸ μάγουλον εἶχεν ἀκουμπισμένον

15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 418

Such examples tend to have a rather literal meaning in the earlier part of the period of this Grammar, but in certain areas they subsequently acquire the function of a true perfect/pluperfect, almost certainly in part under the influence of Romance after 1204:

στὴ βλέψη της ἐτουνῆς τὴν εἶχας δοσμένη

18th c./16th-17th c., KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.433

Following the grammaticalization of the construction, the participle is sometimes inflected invariably as a neuter plural (see 4.4.4).

- (48) The present indicative is used to describe activities/states viewed as habitual or characteristic of the subject at *any* present moment in the progression of time (making these activities/states, in effect, timeless).

The relevant activity might be viewed perfectly (the action is seen as a single complete event on each occasion) or imperfectly (there is no bound on the number of such events), but in the absence of a present perfective paradigm the imperfective present is necessarily used.

ὅταν ὁ κόραξ πούποτε καθίσῃ καὶ φωνάξῃ, ἐκεῖ σημαίνει θάνατον καὶ χωρισμόν

ἄθροον

13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 20-1

ὅπου ἔχει ἀμέριμνον ψυχὴν, ὅπου ἔνι χορτασμένος ποτὲ οὐ πιστεύει νηστικόν, ποτὲ

οὐ ψυχοπονᾶται

13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 117-18

ὁ Χάρων δὲν ἐντρέπεται οὐδ' ἄρχον οὐδὲ ρήγα

16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 81

4.4.2 Imperfect Indicative (Past Imperfective Indicative)

- (49) The imperfect indicative is used to describe actions that are viewed as ongoing/progressive in the past (non-stative verbs), states that are viewed as persisting over time in the past (stative verbs), or actions that are viewed as habitual/characterizing in the past; past states naturally characterize the subject for the period of their duration.

Progressive

ἄστραπτε κατ' ἀνατολὰς, ὅταν ἐγεννήθη

16th c./14th-15th c., *Spanos D* 116-17

ἐβγαίναν (λόγια) ἀπὸ τὰ στόματά των

16th c./15th c., *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 7

Stative

ἀγαποῦσαν τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ εὐσέβειαν ἐποθοῦσαν

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 117

πάντα σ' ἐμίσουν

16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 574.17-18

Habitual

εἰς τὸ νησιν εὐρίσκετον ... ναὸς ἀρχαῖος ..., ἐνθα οἱ Ἕλληνες ἤρχοντο, θυσίας

ἀποτελοῦσαν

15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1723-5

ἐγὼ ἀγαποῦσα νὰ παραπονιέσαι

18th c., *Don Kis.* 47.16

NOTES

- (i) There are examples from Crete of the imperfect used to describe an action that did not produce the hoped-for results:

μὲ ἄλλη μου ἔγραφα τῆς πανιερότη σου νὰ μοῦ ἀγοράσῃ πενήντα τάβλες

1610, Crete, *CHAIRETI* 1969: 2, 168.2-3

ἐπροήγραφα τῆς πανιερότη σου, μὰ λογιάζω νὰ μὴν τοῖς ἔλαβες

1610, Crete, *CHAIRETI* 1969: 2, 168.9-10

(= "tried to write", incomplete in that the message was not received/acted on)

- (ii) Use of the imperfect indicative in conditional sentences is dealt with in 1.2.2, Rule (11) and NOTES; 3.3.

- (iii) In 16th/17th-c. Crete and Cyprus, where the pluperfect was more regularly formed with εἶχα + perfect passive participle (see 4.4.4), there is a corresponding use of what are otherwise past-tense conditional periphrases to express habitual actions ("whenever s/he did X ...") rather than relative temporal anteriority ("when s/he had done X ..."), as shown by the restriction of such indicative use to cases where the main verb is a habitual imperfective:

ὡς εἶχε βάλειν εἰς τὸ νοῦ καὶ ὡς ἤθελε λογιάσει ποιά στράτα μέλλει νὰ κρατῇ ...,

χολικιασμένη ἐπόμενε

18th c./16th-17th c., KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.2091-5

ντάν νὰ ἔχεν βάλειν ἄνθρωπον κάτω νὰ ἔχεν παιδεύγει, τοὺς δελιοποὺς τὸ αἷμάν

τοὺς ἀρχίνιζεν νὰ φεύγῃ

17th-18th c./17th c., KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 265-6

4.4.3 Aorist Indicative (Past Perfective Indicative)

- (50) The aorist indicative denotes eventualities in past time that are viewed as single complete wholes (i.e. with a beginning and an end, and the middle largely elided).

Much of the interpretation depends on the lexical character of individual verbs. Thus activities and states viewed perfectly are naturally interpreted as having ended (e.g. *X ran (a mile)*, *X ruled (till he died)*), processes with inherent culminations as having attained them (e.g. *X melted*, *X grew up*), achievements as punctual events (*X arrived (at 9.15)*), etc. But the perfective forms of stative verbs may also be used to denote what are viewed as momentary events initiating the relevant state (e.g. ἀγάπησε = "X fell in love", ἐβασίλευσε = "X became emperor").

ἀφότου ἀπεκατέστησεν μισίρ Ντζεφρές ἐκεῖνος τὰ πάντα ὅλα πράγματα ..., τόσα τὸν ἀγαπήσασιν ... ὅτι βουλὴν ἀπήρασιν ..., τὸ πῶς νὰ τοῦ ἔμεινε ἡ ἀφεντία τοῦ τόπου τοῦ Μορέως
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 2098–104

ὁ πάπας δὲν τὸ ῥέλησεν, ἀμμὲ ῥηνῦσεν τοῦ
16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 26.12–13

τοῦτοι οἱ ἀθρῶποι ... ἐκουρσεῦγαν καὶ ἐσκοτῶναν, καὶ ἐποῖκαν μεγάλα κακὰ εἰς τὸ νησί
16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 60.10–12

ἀφέντεψεν, ἀφ' ὃν ἐστέφθη ὡς που καὶ ἐπέθανεν, λθ' χρόνους καὶ δ' μῆνες καὶ κδ' ἡμέρες, καὶ ἐπέθανεν ἡμέρα πέμπτη τὴν ὕστερη μαρτίου, ατκδ' Χριστοῦ εἰς τὸν Στρόβιλον
16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 58, 60.36, 1–3

ἐσύ μ' ἐντρόπιαζες τόσους χρόνους, κ' ἐγάμεις τὴ μάνα μου καὶ ποτέ μου δὲ σοῦ εἶπα τίποτας κ' ἐσύ, γιὰ μία βολὰ πού ἐγάμησα τὴ γυναῖκα σου, κάνεις ἔτσι;
16th c., *Nov. I* 156.14–16

ὁ μπάρμπας τοῦ παιδίου ὠνείδισε τὸν γέρον κ' εἶπε τοῦ " ... ὅ,τι ἄρχισε, ἐμένα ποτέ δὲ μοῦ τὸ ἐμολόγησε", κ' ἔτσι ἀγκαλιάστη κ' ἐφίλησε τὸ παιδί του, κ' ἔμειναν ἀγαπημένοι
16th c., *Nov. I* 156.19–22

ἐδέχθη τὸν λόγον ... καὶ ... ἔστειλεν ἔσοδες καὶ κάτεργα ὁ πάπας, διατὶ εἶχεν πολλὴν ἐπιθυμίαν νὰ γένῃ ἡ ἔνωσις τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, ἔσοντας ὅπου πολλές φορές τὸ ἐβουλήθησαν ..., καὶ δὲν ἐδυνήθησαν νὰ τὸ κατορθώσουν
17th c./16th c., *Chron. Ps.-Dorothei* (1631) 229.39–43

μὰς ἀποδέχθηκε καὶ ἀγκαλιάσεν ὁ πριντζιπὸς μας, καὶ ἔτζι πάντα ἐδῶ ἐζήσαμεν εἰς εἰρήνη, ὥστε πού ὁ ἐχθρὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου νὰ σπείρῃ τὸ ζιζάνιο
1614, *Tinos, Hofmann* 1936: 1, 58.6–9

NOTES

- (i) Use of the aorist indicative in conditional sentences is dealt with in 1.2.2, Rule (11) NOTE (i); 3.3.
- (ii) In the absence of a properly developed perfect indicative for much of the period covered by this Grammar (see below), the aorist may be used in contexts where a perfect meaning seems appropriate:

τὸν ἡλίον εἶδα νὰ σταθῇ χίλιες φορές γροικώντας τὰ πάθη μου
17th c./16th c., *CHORTATIS, Panor.* I.71–2

ἐγὼ δὲν εἶδα νὰ σταθῇ τὸν ἡλίο νὰ μ' ἀκούσῃ, μὰ εἶδα χαράκια καὶ δεντρά πολλὰ ν' ἀνασπαστοῦσι, νὰ φεύγῃ γιὰ νὰ μὴ γροικῇ τ' ἀνασπενάματά μου
17th c./16th c., *CHORTATIS, Panor.* I.73–5

- (iii) The aorist is also widely used where a pluperfect might have been employed, the notion of anteriority being inherent in the typically sequential nature of complete events; thus the event described in a subordinate clause is naturally taken to precede that described in a main clause if the latter also contains an aorist ("when X, then Y"):

ἀφότου ἐκατόρθωσεν ὅσα σὰς ἀφηγοῦμαι ... τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ ἐπαρέδωκεν καὶ ἀπῆραν τοὶ ἀγγέλοι
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7801–4

ἀφὸν ἐφάγαν καὶ ἐπαρδιαβάσαν, ἐκατέβησαν κάτω εἰς τὴν αὐλήν
16th c./15th c., *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 44.9

ἐστόντα τάπισα καὶ ἐβγάλαν τὸν ἔξω ἀπὸ τὸν πύργον, ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐποῖκεν νὰ τὸν μάθουσιν τὴν ἀγίαν πίστιν τοῦ Θεοῦ
16th c./15th–16th c., *Fior* 150.14–16

4.4.4 Perfect, Pluperfect and Future Perfect Indicatives

The ancient monolectic perfect had fallen together functionally with the aorist long before the medieval period, and aorists (sometimes derived from earlier perfects, e.g. βρῆκα/ἡῦρηκα) could always be used thereafter to imply the "present relevance" of a past event whenever the context supported or demanded such a reading. The monolectic pluperfect was not much used even in AG and it too withered away before the period of this Grammar, leaving the aorist as the default means of denoting events anterior to past events (see 4.4.3, Rule (50) NOTE (iii)). Since the future perfect barely existed in AG (most verbs do not have an attested paradigm), the only productive survivor of the ancient perfect system was the perfect passive participle, which could be used predicatively with different tenses of εἶμαι to express a state of the subject, or more rarely with different tenses of ἔχω as an object complement to express a state of the direct object (see Rule (47) and NOTES).

Other than in S. Italy (where Latin/Romance influence was always present), periphrastic forms with the authentic pluperfect force of temporal anteriority begin to appear only in the later medieval period, and it is hard not to see this development as driven in part by the advent of widespread bilingualism following the influx of Romance speakers into the Greek-speaking world after the capture of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade in 1204.

One form of Romance-style pluperfect, attested from ca. 15th c. onwards and quickly associated with a corresponding perfect, was based on the ἔχω/εἶχα + perfect passive participle construction, the latter element sometimes retaining agreement with the direct object, but also inflected as an invariable neuter plural in the wake of the reinterpretation and grammaticalization of the forms, e.g. *I have/had a tree (that is/was) planted in the garden > I have/had planted a tree in the garden*, etc. Though in principle available only with transitive verbs, it was quickly extended to "unergative" intransitives (i.e. those denoting simple activities), using newly invented participles such as ἀποφασισμένος; in this case the neuter plural ending is standard, but this is also partially generalized to transitive verbs on Crete and some southern Aegean islands. A passive is formed using εἶμαι + perfect passive participle, and this combination is also used as a perfect/pluperfect active with deponent verbs and "unaccusative" intransitives (i.e. those denoting transitions to a result location, such as "come/go"), once again with innovative formations such as ἐλθωμένος etc. The resulting creation of a "be/have" auxiliary split is highly characteristic of Romance, and

throughout the period of this Grammar the participial construction remains most characteristic of southern regions that were long under Western rule (e.g. Heptanese, Crete, Rhodes Cyprus), with only limited spread to the mainland, and not to northern areas.

- ἐβλεπεν ὁ ἄγγελος, ὥς ἦτον τεταγμένος 15th c., *Anak.Konst.* 112
 τὸ ἐμισὸν ἔχομεν βαλμένον εἰς τὴν πακτωσίαν 1506, Patmos, MALTEZOU 1970: 2, 367.172
 μᾶς ἔχει δοσμένα καὶ πουλημένα ... ἀμπέλιν 1547, Crete, ILIAKIS/CHRONAKI 2002: 25, 65.3
 εἶναι μισημένος ἀπὸ τῆς Ρώμης 1570, Venice, CATALDI PALAU 2003: 9, 482.3
 εἶχαμε μιλημένα γὰρ τὸ γάμο 17th c./16th–17th c., *Vosk.* 400

The other main type of pluperfect starts to appear a little earlier and derives from the probably Romance-inspired reinterpretation of conditional periphrases in the protases of hypothetical/counterfactual conditionals as denoting anteriority vis-à-vis the apodosis (see 3.3 for details); e.g. a conditional with the literal meaning “if I would find the money, I would spend it” (the LMedG/EMG construction was originally atemporal) > “if I would have found the money ...” > “if I *had* found the money ...”, with the notion of anteriority then extended to real-time subordinate clauses (e.g. “when I had found the money ...”) and then to main clauses (e.g. “I had found the money (by the time the bill arrived)”). This type of pluperfect quickly becomes widespread and is ordinarily based on the εἶχα-periphrasis with perfective infinitive, though in southern areas there are also examples of the ἤθελα-periphrasis used as a pluperfect. The construction acquires a corresponding perfect very late, at the end of the 17th c.

- εἶχαν τὸν κόψει κακὰ καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν 15th c./13th c., *Assizes B* 267.11–12
 ἔβαλαν τὸν βασιλέαν ἐκείνον εἰς τὸ σκαμνὶ ... ὅπου τὸ εἶχεν χάσει 14th. c., *Chron. Mor.* H 622–3

NOTES

- (i) In southern areas from around the 16th c. onwards, the conditional infinitival periphrasis with ἤθελα is also sometimes used as a pluperfect:

λέγοντες πὼς τὸ ἤθελαν χάσει πρώην 1575, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008. 5, 58.5–6

- (ii) In Crete there is evidence (specifically from Kornaros) that conditional periphrases could also be used as habituais in generic subordinate clauses (cf. the dual use of English *would*); note the habitual imperfect in the corresponding main clause:

τό 'χα ξυπνήσει, ἐφώνιαζα 18th c./16th–17th c., KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.995

It is unclear whether such examples should be translated “whenever/wherever/whoever someone would/used to X” or “... had X”.

- (iii) Particularly, if not exclusively, in regions where both types of pluperfect co-existed, the participial construction retains a more stative character, in line with its origins.

A further type of pluperfect is more sporadically attested, formed from the past tense of “to be” and the perfective gerund. This formation is characteristic of S. Italy, the

Peloponnese and adjacent islands such as Cythera, and may represent a local modernization of the corresponding ancient construction that used the aorist participle (which agreed with the subject in number, gender and case). It never gained ground geographically and declines with the general decline of the perfective gerund (3.4, Rule (37)).

ἐνθα ἦσαν οἱ ἅπαντες οἱ πελεργῖνοι ἐκεῖνοι, ὅπου ἦσαν ἐπάροντα τὸν σταυρόν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H. 390–1

Even more restricted in its distribution is a variant using εἶχα + perfective or imperfective gerund, apparently without any clear aspectual contrast.

The future perfect is almost exclusively a non-literary tense and is often used in legal contexts for precision, once again most probably under the influence of corresponding Romance practice in which grammatical marking of the sequencing of events in both past and future time is routine. The majority of attested forms are futures of the ἔχω + perfect passive participle periphrasis, formed chiefly with (ἐ)θέλω (e.g. θέλω ἔχει(ν) X V-μένο/-μένη etc.); conditional ἤθελα in the same construction is a very clear marker of the legalese register.

νά 'μαι κρατημένος νὰ τῆς δίδω ὅ,τι ρούχα ... τῆς ἤθελα ἔχει καμωμένα 1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2006: 211, 166.10–12

νά χάνη τὴν δούλευσή του ὅπου θέλει ἔχει δουλεμένη 1571, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 1, 53. 10–11

The various auxiliaries used in these LMedG/EMG periphrases either lack perfective stems altogether (εἶμαι, ἔχω) or do not make use of them in this role (e.g. the aorist of (ἐ)θέλω is never used as an auxiliary). Any aspectual contrast must therefore derive from the element with which they combine, viz. the perfect passive participle, infinitive or gerund. But of these only infinitives and gerunds can in principle be marked for aspect, and even here the usual perfective/imperfective contrast applies only in part (see 1.2.2 for the conditional periphrases; 3.4, Rules (36) and (37) for infinitives and gerunds, on which cf. also immediately below). Since the various members of the perfect system, unlike all other indicatives, do not engage fully, or in some cases at all, with the otherwise universal perfective/imperfective opposition, it is unsurprising that they occupy a rather marginal position in the overall verbal paradigm of LMedG/EMG and play a similarly marginal role syntactically. The participial perfects, pluperfects and future perfects at least retain a distinctive role with their continuing (if partial) stative function, but the pluperfects formed with infinitives and gerunds are almost exclusively perfective in form and function principally as temporally more pedantic variants of the aorist (indicative or future/subjunctive according to whether time reference is to the past or the future).

For further examples and more detailed discussion of the formations discussed above see III, 5.

4.4.5 Future/Conditionals, Subjunctives and Imperatives

Aspect in infinitival conditional periphrases is discussed above in connection with the reinterpretation of certain forms as pluperfects; aspect in both future and conditional periphrases in their original functions is dealt with fully in 1.2.2. The role of aspect in imperatives is discussed in 1.3, and in subjunctives in their various functions in 1.2.2, 1.3, 1.5,

2.2, and 2.3; and Chapter 3 *passim*. In all cases apart from the infinitival future and conditional periphrases and pluperfects deriving from the latter, the perfective/imperfective opposition is fully operational, with relevant forms built to both stems.

Future time reference is an inherent property of imperatives, and in part of future/modal and conditional forms – but not when these are being used in a purely modal way to denote possible/hypothetical situations outside the temporal structure of the “real world”, or in lieu of infinitives to denote actions conceived without reference to time. Thus conditionals are normally modal but are also used, albeit rarely, as “real” futures-in-the-past, i.e. to denote events in the future relative to a past-time reference point:

ἐβλεπεν εἰς ὄνειράτα ὅπου ἐμελλε νὰ γίνονται 16th c., *Vios Iosif*. 270.2–3

ἐθάρρου πῶς εἶχασιν οἱ ἔγνοιες μου νὰ πάψου 17th c./16th c., *CHORTATIS, Erof*. IV 160–1

Similarly, subjunctives complementing control predicates (2.2) are not themselves future-referring, but they are also used to refer to the “real” future in main clauses (1.2.2, Rule (7)) and some subordinate clauses (3.4), as well as to give commands (1.3, Rule (13)).

NOTES

- (i) There are some possible examples in documents from the Pontic region of the generalized (and so aspectually neutral) use of imperfective subjunctives; this usage later became the norm in that area, though perfective forms are still very much in use in the period of this Grammar:

ἐὰν ἔρκεστιν, ἐλάτε με τοῦ Κορέλλι τὸν ἀποκριχάρη, καὶ κανεῖς μὴ σὰς γνώση, καὶ ἐλάτε νὰ σὰς συντύχω ἀπὸ στομάτου μου 1481, *Crimea, GRASSO* 1880: 119, 168–9.5–7

4.4.6 Gerunds and Participles

- (51) Gerunds are active in form (even from deponent verbs) and are built to either the imperfective or perfective stem; the former usually marks eventualities overlapping with the action described by the main verb, the latter eventualities preceding it, in accordance with their aspectual properties (i.e. in the default case an eventuality viewed as ongoing is taken to be contemporaneous with the main-clause event, one viewed as complete as preceding it).

Perfective forms are in decline in LMedG/EMG and the forms attested increasingly come from a small number of verbs with strong aorist stems whose ending -οντας coincides with the productive imperfective ending; weak aorist -σοντας is hard to find beyond the clichéd περάσοντας with temporal subject. Imperfective forms are then used with perfective as well as imperfective force.

For other aspects of gerundial syntax see 3.4.4.2, Rule (37).

Imperfective Force (imperfective forms)

ὁ καστελλᾶνος παρευτός, οὐ μὴ σκοπῶντα δόλον, εἶπεν καὶ ὑποσχέθη του νὰ τὸν δεχτῇ εἰς τὸ κάστρον 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8237–8

σιμώνοντας ἡ ὥρα νὰ γεννηθῇ ὁ Χριστός, ἦλθεν ἀπὸ τοὺς οὐρανοὺς μέγα φῶς 16th c., *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 329.7–8

φαίνοντάς τους δίκαιαν καὶ τιμημένη ... ἡ αὐτὴ σοῦπλικά 1561, *Zakynthos, KONOMOS* 1969a: 1, 35.7–9

πᾶσα γνωστικός ἄνθρωπος, δὲ κατέχοντας πότες ἔχει νὰ τοῦ ἔλθῃ αὐτὸς ὁ θάνατος, πρέπει καὶ τυχαίνει νὰ ὀρδινιαστῇ 1598, *Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT* 1987: 14, 35.5–6

ἐρχοντάς μου εἰς τὸ Χτῆμαν ἦρτεν ὁ Χακη-Αὐγουστῆς 1619, *Cyprus, PERDIKIS* 1998: 1, 3.10

κάθοντά σου εἰς τὴν τράπεζαν, γελᾷς ἢ συντυχαίνεις; 17th c., *Cyprus, CHRISTODOULOU* 1983: A, 406.389

Perfective Force (both perfective and imperfective forms)

διαβόντα γὰρ μικρὸς καιρὸς ἀπέθανε ἡ κουντέσσα 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8001

διαβαίνοντα ὀλλίγες ἡμέρες, ἐσηκωθήσαν ἀπὲ τὸ σπιτάλλιν φρέρηδες 16th c./15th c., *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 4.3–4

γρικῶντα ἡ μάνα του, ὀρδινίασεν τὸ φᾶν του εἰς τὴν ἀρχιεπισκοπὴν 16th c./15th c., *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 46.15–16

τὴν ἑτερην ... νὰ τήνε μοιράζουν ... ὁ υἱὸς του ... με τὸν ἄγκονά του ..., ὁποτυχόντας (σ) του τοῦ προειρημένου κυρ Ἀλίσαντρου 1579, *Kefalonia, ZAPANDI* 2001a: 5, 23.14–16

ἀποθανόντας τοῦ καλογέρου, ν' ἀπομένη τὸ λεγόμενο ἀμπέλι στὰ παιδιὰ τοῦ ἄνωθεν Λιγνοῦ 1600, *Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT* 1987: 92, 108.10–11

περάσοντας ὀλίγος καιρὸς, ἐμάζωξε τὰ φουσσᾶτα του 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 34.11

ἰδόντας ὁ Μπαγιαζίτης ὅτι νικᾶται ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐκθροῦ του ..., ἐσκιάκτη μήπως καὶ ἔλθῃ ὁ Σακοῦκος ὁ Περσιάνος 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 39.23–5

ἐκεῖνος ... δὲν ἤμπορεῖ νὰ μάθῃ τὴν φύσιν ἐκείνων ὅπου δὲν εἶναι καὶ δὲν μαθαίνοντάς τα, δὲν ἤμπορεῖ νὰ τὰ ἰδῇ καλά 17th c., *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 34. 32–5

- (52) Perfect passive participles are used in periphrases with εἶμα/ἔχω throughout the medieval period with stative force: no perfective/imperfective contrast can be expressed.

In the period from ca. 15th c. onwards this construction is increasingly grammaticalized in southern areas as a true perfect/pluperfect, albeit with the stative function partly retained (see above on perfect, pluperfect and future perfect indicatives for relevant examples).

- (53) All other inflected participles, active and mediopassive, are marked systematically for the perfective/imperfective opposition; but these forms are residual in LMedG/EMG and employed primarily as “higher” stylistic variants of the gerund or in clichéd phrases.

Participles may have overt subjects or empty subject positions referentially controlled by the subject of the main verb. Overt subjects may be either nominative (the norm) or genitive

(in deference to the ancient genitive absolute construction), but with no requirement that the subject-participle combination should be a true absolute construction with its subject referentially independent of all noun phrases in the main clause.

Clitic pronouns in subject function are standardly inflected in the genitive in the absence of weak nominative pronouns that could be used in this position.

In all but the most classicizing styles, the syntax of participles reflects that of gerunds in that participial subjects must be either referentially autonomous or subject-orientated (i.e. if it is to be coreferential with a main-clause constituent, this can only be the subject).

See 3.4.4.2, Rule (37) for examples.

4.4.7 Infinitives

(54) Active and mediopassive infinitives are marked for aspect, but in several infinitival constructions one aspect stem is favoured over the other (sometimes exclusively so) with a corresponding loss in the formal expression of aspectual contrast.

In LMedG/EMG infinitives are used regularly only in:

- grammaticalized future/conditional and pluperfect periphrases (1.2.2, and cf. above on pluperfects)
- the VPs of subordinate clauses as a variant form of complement to control, modal and aspectual verbs (2.2)
- one form of indirect question (2.4, Rule (31) NOTE (ii))
- as nominalized sentence adjuncts with a temporal/causal function similar to that of gerunds (3.4, Rule (36); 3.8)

Loss of aspectual contrast applies in particular to:

- the grammaticalized periphrases (see 1.2.2 for futures/conditionals; infinitives in pluperfects are almost always perfective, cf. above)
- the complements to aspectual verbs (imperfective only)
- the nominalized adverbials corresponding to temporal/causal clauses (perfective only)

In all these surviving infinitival constructions the subject position is referentially controlled by the main-verb subject.

Other than in styles admitting high levels of learned/classicizing influence, infinitival constructions that allowed overt (accusative) subjects in AG are no longer employed.

Infinitives may no longer be negated in their own right and only the governing verb can have a negative particle.

Complement to Control Verbs

εἴτις δὲ βουληθῇ κατελῦσαι τὸ παρὸν γράμμα, νὰ ἐνὶ ἀσυγχώρητος

14th–15th c., Athos, LEFORT et al. 1995: 95, 148.14–15

Complement to Modal/Aspectual Verbs

ἐκίνησαν τὰ σάλια μου, Χριστέ, νὰ τὴν ἐπιάσα, ... νὰ ἡρξάμην ρουκανίζειν

14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* IV 219–21

λέγει καὶ διερμηνεύει τὸ πῶς ὁ λίζιος ἄνθρωπος χρεωστεῖ ποιῆσαι τοῦτο

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7570–1

In Indirect Questions

τὸ τί ποιήσει οὐκ εἶχασιν

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4084

Adverbial (temporal/causal)

τὸ ἰδεῖ τὸν ὁ μιστὶρ Ντζεφρές, γλυκέα τὸν ἀποδέχτη

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8231

For further examples see the various sections noted above.

5 Nouns and Noun Phrases

A Noun Phrase (NP) in LMedG/EMG consists of a "head" noun or pronoun in construction with any complements it may require (see 5.2) and/or any optional adjuncts (see 5.1.4, Rule (69), and 5.3). NPs are the constituents of sentences used to refer to extralinguistic entities, and therefore nouns/pronouns are normally the heads of NPs even when they appear alone without complementation or modification.

Nominal expressions are characterized by values for the categories of *person* (1, 2, 3), *number* (singular, plural), *gender* (masculine, feminine, neuter) and *case* (nominative, vocative, accusative, genitive; and residually, dative). Head nouns/pronouns share the values assigned to these categories with the NPs containing them, and any adjuncts that are capable of bearing the appropriate morphological marking (articles, demonstratives, quantifiers, adjectives) agree with the heads they modify in number, gender and case; there is no formal marking of agreement in person. Complements, however, do not agree and are assigned specific grammatical markers by their heads as detailed in 5.2.

Person is a deictic category, i.e. one involving reference to extralinguistic entities. Its values are determined from the viewpoint of the speaker/writer as the 1st person, making the audience/reader the 2nd person(s) and any other participants in the discourse the 3rd person(s). Pronouns may be 1st, 2nd or 3rd person, but nouns are 3rd person unless the NPs containing them appear in apposition to 1st- or 2nd-person pronouns, and vocatives are inherently linked to 2nd-person pronouns, whether overt or covert; honorific circumlocutions such as *ἡ εὐγενεία σου/σας* etc. are also often treated as 2nd person.

NPs referring to countable objects are headed by count nouns, and their number is determined by whether the objects in question are "one" (singular) or "more than one" (plural); singular is the default number for NPs headed by non-count nouns, e.g. a mass noun like *ἄμμος* or an abstract noun like *δικαιοσύνη*. There is no compelling evidence for the use of the 2nd person plural to address individuals as a mark of politeness, for which circumlocutions of the type "your excellency" are regularly used instead (see above): note that the use of a plural possessive pronoun with a singular head noun in such cases typically involves more than one addressee, as *ὅλοι ἀντάμα* in the example below makes clear:

ἡ εὐγενεία σας ὅλοι ἀντάμα θέλετε ἀποκαταστήσει τίς νά ἀπομείνῃ
1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 286.22-3

The occasional anaphoric use of 3 sg. pronouns in connection with these circumlocutions is partly a matter of the flexibility of the grammar of anaphora, but may also reflect contemporary Romance practice:

ἡ παρούσα μου ταπεινή δὲν εἶναι διὰ ἄλλην αἰτίαν πάρεξ νά τῆς ἀναγγείλω
(= τῆς μακαριότητάς σου) 1658, Cyprus, TSIRPANLIS 1973: 106, 160.5-7

Monarchs *vel sim.* may employ the 1st person plural of themselves:

ἐμεῖς ... ρήγας τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ... λαλοῦμεν ὅσοι μᾶς γροικοῦσιν τῆς αὐτῆς γραφῆς
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 54.23-5

First- and second-person pronouns have no inherent/grammatical gender. Those denoting humans are standardly treated as masculine or feminine according to the biological sex of the individual(s) involved; 1st- and 2nd-person pronouns may also be treated as neuter when the relevant individuals would be denoted in the 3rd person by a neuter NP, e.g. 1st-person *ἐμεῖς* when used by anthropomorphic ζῶα in an allegory etc. Unlike 1st- and 2nd-person pronouns, 3rd-person pronouns have distinct masculine, feminine and neuter forms. The gender of those with *deictic* function is also closely associated with biological sex, i.e. masculine or feminine for humans, neuter for everything else. By contrast, the gender of *anaphoric* 3rd-person pronouns normally follows that of their antecedents, e.g. neuter plural *αὐτά/τά* referring back to neuter plural *τὰ κορίτσια* etc. In the event of gender conflict (e.g. in coordinated expressions), masculine is the default choice for pronouns referring back to mixed-gender NPs denoting humans, provided that at least one is male:

νέους καὶ νῆς ἀνύπανδρους, γιατί νά τοὺς ἐπάρῃς; 16th c., GLYKYS, *Penth. Than.* 89

Neuter is selected for those referring to mixed-gender NPs denoting non-humans/inanimates:

ὁ θυμὸς καὶ ἡ ἐπιθυμία, διατί αὐτάνα ἐγενήκασιν ἀπὸ τὸν δημιουργόν ... σύντροφοι τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως
17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 34.6-7

By contrast, grammatical gender *is* an inherent property of nouns. There are partial correlations between particular genders and particular declensional classes/subclasses, and nouns denoting male or female human beings are often assigned masculine or feminine gender accordingly (see Part II for details), but the grammatical gender of common nouns is for the most part semantically arbitrary.

The case of a NP is determined by the grammatical and/or semantic function it carries within a sentence (see 5.1 for details).

5.1 Uses of the Cases

5.1.1 Nominative

(55) The nominative is the case of the subjects of finite verb forms (whether overt or omitted), and of the nominal/adjectival complements of copular verbs, which agree with their associated subjects in (number and) case: see also 1.1.

ὀδύνες τὴν καρδίαν μου κατέτρωναν μερίμων ?12th c. or 13th-14th c., *Eisit.* f.8r.3-4

ἔστράφησαν εἰς τὴν Φραγκίαν τινὲς πλεῖστοι κλερᾶδες 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 514

σκοτεινιάζει με τὸ σπίτιν τοῦ γειτόνου 16th c., *Pist. kekoim.* 593

With Subject Complements

αὐτὲς ἐνι οἱ ὑπόληψες τῶν πρωτινῶν ἀνθρώπων 16th c./15th c., LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 606

ἀποῦ ἀγαπᾷ τὴν ψεματινὴν δόξαν, [_{3sg}. ∅] ἐνι φουμιστῆς τοὺς παιγνιδοφουμιστάδες
16th c./15th–16th c., *Fior* 131.14–15

ἂν [_{2sg}. ∅] εἶσαι Χρυσταλλένη, μηδὲν εἶναι ἡ καρδιά σου διαμαντένη
16th c./15th–16th c., *Cypr. Canz.* 92.12–13

- (56) The nominative is the case of the omitted subjects of infinitives and gerunds/participles that are controlled by the subject of the main verb (as confirmed by nominative subject complements); see also 2.2, Rules (25) and (29), 3.4, Rules (36) and (37), Chapter 4, Rules (51)–(54).

Infinitive

πῶς ... νὰ [_{3sg}. ∅] καταδέξεται [_{3sg}. ∅] γενεῖ εἰς αὐτοὺς καπετᾶνος;
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 233–6

ἐκεῖνοι ἐκατέλαβαν, [_{3pl}. ∅] τὸ λάβει τὰ πιττάκια
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7855

Gerund

ὁ καστελλᾶνος παρευτός, [_{3sg}. ∅] οὐ μὴ σκοπῶντα δόλον, ... ὑποσχέθη του νὰ τὸν δεχτῇ
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8237–8

- (57) The nominative is the default case of the overt subjects of nominalized infinitives with adverbial function and of gerunds/participles in absolute constructions.

But weak pronominal subjects are genitive in the absence of nominative clitics, and there is some wider use of genitive subjects in higher registers; see also 3.4, Rules (36) and (37); Chapter 4, Rules (51)–(54).

Infinitive

τὸ ἀκούσει ὁ Ροῦσος ντὲ Σουλῇ ..., εὐθέως ἐσυγκατέβηκεν κ' ἰσιάστησαν εἰς τοῦτο
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7927–8

Gerund

καὶ γροικῶντα κάτινες καβαλλάριδες πιστοὶ τοῦ ρηγός, εἶπαν τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦ ρηγός
16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 42.33–4

Genitive Subjects

καθεζομένης τῆς Ἀφεντίας, ὑπῆγε καὶ ἐπροσκύνησεν αὐτὴν καὶ τὸ γράμμα τοῦ μπάιλου τοῦ Γαλατᾶ ἔδειξεν
16th c., *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* (1572) 15–17

ἔρχοντάς μου εἰς τὸ Χτῆμαν ἦρτεν ὁ Χακη-Αὐγουστής
1619, Cyprus, *PERDIKIS* 1998: 1, 3.10

NOTE

- (i) The nominative is also not infrequently used as a default case for loosely connected topics that are linked referentially rather than syntactically (i.e. by case agreement) to elements in the following clause:

οἱ Φράγκοι γὰρ ἐκ τὴν στερεάν ἦτον ὁ πόλεμός τους
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 546

ἡ παρθένος Μαρία τε Λουζουνία ..., ἐρμάσαν την
16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 58.32–3

5.1.2 Vocative

- (58) The vocative is the case of NPs used to address people or things.

Vocative NPs may be used alone to attract the addressee's attention or more usually may appear as adjuncts to sentences whose content the speaker/writer wishes to draw to the addressee's attention.

ψυχὴ μου κακοτύχερε, μίαν ἐχάρης ὦραν καὶ λύπη διεδέξατο ἄπαυστος τὴν χαράν σου
13th c./12th c., *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 196–7

κερά, κερά μαγκίπισσα, τὸ πῶς ἀκούεις οὐκ οἶδα
14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. III* 172

πρίγκιπα, ἐσύ θεωρεῖς κ' ἐβλέπεις τὸ ἀτός σου
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4222

ὦ βραχιόνιοι σιδηροὶ καὶ στήθη μαρμαρέйна, καὶ ποῖα γῆ σᾶς ἔκρυπεν καὶ ἐκατεκάλυψέ σας;
15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 3392–3

γιά μίλειε, γάιδαρε, ὁμορφα γῆ ἔρχομαι νὰ σοῦ βγάλω τὰ γένια σου!
17th c./16th c., *CHORTATIS, Katz.* III.461–2

NOTE

- (i) The nominative is sometimes used in place of the vocative, usually with the definite article and/or in apposition to a preceding vocative, implying an equative meaning ("you/X, (who are) the Y"):

τί 'ναι ἐκεῖνα, ὁ θεῖός μου ...;
15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 759

ἐξέβης, ἡ κυρ' ἄλωποῦ, νὰ μᾶς φιλοσοφήσης;
15th c./14th c., *Diig. tetr.* 204

ἄ, πῶς λαλεῖς, ἡ μάννα μου;
16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1077

λέγει τὴν ὁ Ἄγγελος τὸ «Χαῖρε, ἡ Μαρία»
15th c., *Diig. Ven.* 29

Κύριε, Κύριε, ὁ Θεός μου, ἐσύ με ἐπροεῖπες ὅτι μετ' ἐμένα εἶσαι
16th c., *DAM. STOUD., This., Logos* 17, ο7ν.24 (1561)

ὦ ψυχὴ μου, σινιόρα Δουλτσινέα, τὸ ἄνθος τῆς εὐμορφίας, βοήθησε αὐτὸν τὸν καβαλιέρην σου
18th c., *Don Kis.* 52.21–2

5.1.3 Accusative

5.1.3.1 Complements of Verbs

Accusative of the Direct Object

- (59) In the default case, transitive verbs mark their direct object NPs (and in relevant cases nominal/adjectival direct object complements) in the accusative case.

καὶ καθαιροῦσιν τὸν παπᾶν!
13th c./12th c., *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 271

παρακουῶ τοὺς λόγους του καὶ οὐ ποιω τὸ θέλημάν του
13th–14th c./12th c., *Spaneas* P 280

ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς ἐνθυμοῦμαι ..., πλέον δὲ πάντων σέ, τὸν ἐμὸν ποθητὸν καὶ ἀγαπητὸν μου υἱόν
14th c., Cyprus, *KODER et al.* 2001: 245, 426.35–6

- ἀνάπαυεν τὰ ὄλογα 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1749
 θέλομεν διηγῆσασθαι τὸν ἔρωτα τὸν μέγαν 15th–16th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* N 752
 ἐσύ μ' ἐντρόπιαζες ... κ' ἐγάμεις τῇ μάνα μου καὶ ... δέ σοῦ εἶπα τίποτας, κ' ἐσύ, γιὰ
 μία βολὰ πού ἐγάμησα τῇ γυναίκα σου, κάνεις ἔτσι; 16th c., *Nov.* I 156.14–16
τὴν Ῥώμην ἠπήραμεν καὶ τὲς θαλάσσης, τὰ νησιά ὅλα 16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 244.9 (Lolos)
 παρακαλεῖ καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην νὰ τὲς συμπαθήσῃ
 1672, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 13, 10.3

With Direct Object Complements

- καὶ τὴν ἐτέραν ἀδελφὴν τῆς κόρης νὰ τοῦ δώσω, νὰ τοῦ τὴν δώσω σύζυγον,
σύγαμβρον νὰ τὸν ἔχω 16th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* α 4543–4 app. crit. (N)
 οὐκ ἐποίησαν αὐτὸν μέγαν μάστορην 17th c./16th c., *Ekth. Chron.* 71.25

NOTES

- (i) A double accusative construction is characteristic of verbs meaning “teach (someone something)”, “inform (someone [of] something)”. This option is also attested with verbs meaning “dress X (in)”, “exchange X (for)”, “spend X (on)”, “fill X (with)”, “free X (from)”; in these cases, however, the second accusative may be replaced, especially in EMG texts, by an indirect object (formally distinguishable only when the genitive is used, see Rules (60) and (66)) or a prepositional phrase, according to the individual preferences of the verb in question.

- πολλά τὸν ἔχω εὐκαιρητὴν ... ὅπου διδάξῃ γράμματα ποτέ του τὸ παιδί του
 13th c./12th c., *GLYKAS, Stichoí* 208–9
 παρήγγειλεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ... μόνη ἐκείνη ... νὰ σὲ ἀλλάξῃ ῥωμαϊκόν, δεσποινικόν
ἱμάτιν ?12th c. or 13th–14th c., *Eisit.* f.3r.11–16
 τί ἀντίστηκον καλὸν νὰ σὲ τὸ ἀντιμέψω; 15th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* E 3760
 ἐπληροφόρεσέ τον τὸν θάνατον τοῦ πρίγκιπος καὶ τὴν κατάστασιν του
 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7825–6
δένδρη μεγάλα κ' ἐρπετὰ κι ἄλλα θηριὰ τῆς φύσης, ... ἐγέμισεν ἡ κτίσις
 15th c., *CHOUMNOS, Kosmog.* 21–2
γέροντα Σαρακηνὸν γράμματα μὴ μανθάνῃς 16th c./?, *Paroim.* H 51
 ἂν ἦτον ἀργυρόκουπα ὁ οὐρανὸς ..., νὰ μὲ τὸν ἐγεμίζασιν ἄσπρο κρασὶν ἀκράτον
 16th c./15th c., *Krasop.* AO 93
κόκκινα δὲν σὲ ντύνω, βιβλιὸν μου 16th c./15th–16th c., *Cypr. Canz.* 2.17
 ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ... ἐντυσεν τοὺς Πέρσας ὄλους φορεσίαν ὡσὰν οἱ Μακεδόνες
 ἐβαστοῦσαν, καὶ τοὺς Μακεδόνας ὄλους ἐφόρεσεν Περσικὴν φορεσίαν
 16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 308.18–20 (Lolos)
 τὰ ἄσπρα πού εἶναι ἐδῶ, θαρρῶ ... νὰ τὰ ψωνίσω κερά
 1696, Albania, MERTZIOS 1947a: 14, 216.8–9

With Intransitive and Passive Verbs (principal object of transitive verb > subject)

- καὶ λυτρωθοῦμεν τον γοργόν, νὰ μὴ μᾶς παραβλέπῃ 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* IV 528
 τότε νὰ ἐλευθερωθῇς τὴν λύπην καὶ τοὺς πόνους 15th c., *Peri xen.* 324
 ὁ ρήγας ἐγέμωσεν χολὴν καὶ λαλεῖ τους 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 232.10

With (Passive) Adjectives with Related Meanings

- ἦτον ὁ κόσμος σκοτεινὸς καὶ τὰ νερά γεμᾶτος 15th c., *CHOUMNOS, Kosmog.* 11
 μαξιλάρια δύο γιομάτα πτερό καινούργια 1502, Corfu, *PANDAZI* 2007: 14, 13.8–9

With Indirect Object (Genitive NP or PP) Substituted for Second Accusative

- οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς τοῦ ἐφόρεσαν τὸ μανδύον τὸ πατριαρχικόν
 16th c., *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* (1572) 181
 γέμισε τοῦτο τὸ φλασκὶ κρασί, altri dicono ἀπὸ κρασί
 17th c., *GERMANO, Grammar* 104.9–10
 νὰ τοῦ κάμῃ μόδο νὰ ἐλευθερωθῇ ἀπὸ τῇ σκλαβίᾳ
 1668, Kefalonia, BALLAS 1999a: 1, 277.7

- (ii) Ἐχω combines with a number of bare accusative nouns with meanings in the range “need/desire/power” to form a kind of periphrastic verb that in turn may take (*inter alia*) a direct object NP in the accusative (± an object complement):

- ἐσέναν εἶχε-θέλημα ἄντρα τοῦ νὰ μὲ δώσῃ 15th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* E 2237
 εἶτι θέλεις κάμε με, ἔχεις-με-ἐξουσίαν
 15th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* L 752 transcr. (Panayotopoulou/Lendari)
 διὰ τοῦτο ἔχομεν-χρεῖα πολλοὺς ὅπου νὰ μᾶς αἰδάρουσι
 17th c., *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 30.1–2

Accusative of the Indirect Object

- (60) In northern areas, including Constantinople and much of Asia Minor, the indirect object (marked dative in AG) may be expressed by an accusative NP.

Alternatively a prepositional phrase headed by εἰς/σέ or πρὸς + accusative may be used. Such PPs appear in this function in all locations, especially in later periods, and are most usually substituted for NPs headed by other than 1st/2nd-person pronouns.

Accusative indirect objects, especially pronominal ones, also appear sporadically in southern areas as an alternative to the usual genitive of the indirect object (for which see 5.1.4).

Northern Areas + Texts of Uncertain Provenance

- κατονείδιζε καὶ εἶπέ τον ὅσα θέλεις 13th–14th c./12th c., *Spaneas* P 127
 ποῖον μαντάτον νὰ ὑπάγωμεν τὴν ταπεινὴν μας μάνα; 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 93
ἐπώλησα ἐσὲν παπὰ Θεόδωρον τὸν ἐξάδελφόν μου τὸ ὁσπίτιν εἰς Διανίαν
 1260, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 17, 8.1–2
ἔδωκα ἐσὲν παπὰ Θεόδωρον τὸν γαμβρόν μου τόπον τὸ Λεγνάκιν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἁλόγου
 καὶ τῶν κρικίων 1260, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 19, 8.1–2

- χρεωστεῖ με καὶ ὁ Παῦλος χοινικ(ὸν) κριθάρ(ιν)
1269, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 52, 29.32
- καὶ τὴν πρόσταξιν ἐκείνου ἀμφοτέρως διηγούνται τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὥς εἶπεν
15th c./14th c., ERMON., *Ilias* 1.258–60
- ἐκείνον δώσω τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς αὐτοκρατορίας
16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 66
- καὶ δός με ἀπὸ τὰ φουσσάτα σου ἐκείνους τοὺς θέλω 15th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* L 87
- ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς ... γραφὴν γράφει, ἀντίγραμμά στέλνει αὐτοὺς ὀπίσω
16th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* O 209–10
- ᾄφηκα τὸν παπὰ Τζουάνην κεχρί κιλά δώδεκα
15th c., Meteora, VEIS et al. 1998: 225, 246, f.163v.10
- εἰς ἄρχων ἔστειλε τὸν δοῦλον του, νὰ τὸν ἀγοράσῃ πουλιά γενεές τρεῖς
post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 53, 44.1–2
- τοῦτος ὁ Ἡρώδης ἦτον ἀλλόφυλος ... καὶ ὑποτάσσοτον τὴν βασιλείαν τῆς Ρώμης
16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 341.5–7

Southern Areas

- εἶχεν γὰρ ὁ κύρ Θεόδωρος, ἐκεῖνος ποῦ σέ λέγω, υἱοὺς τρεῖς καὶ ἐξαίρετους
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 3537–8
- πρόσεξε ... τὰ ἔμπυατα, τὸ πόσοι τὰ φυλάγουν, νὰ με τὸ εἶπῃς ..., νὰ με τὸ
διερμηνέψῃς, [καὶ μὴ τολμήσῃς νὰ τὸ εἶπῃς ἀνθρώπου γεννημένου]
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8214–17
- τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐποίκασι, λόγον οὐδὲν τὸν λέγουν 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1357
- [ἐφανίσθη μου κ' ἔτρεχα εἰς λιβάδιν ὠραιωμένον ...] ... κ' ἐφάνη με ὁκ' ἔδιωχνα με
θράσος ἐλαφίνα 16th c./15th c., BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 5–9
- λέγει με 16th c./15th c., [FALIEROS], *Erot. En.* 42
- ὁ Χάρος εὐρηκέ με καὶ σφονδυλίαν με ἔδωκεν καὶ εἰς μίαν ἐσκότωσέ με
16th c./15th c., ?Crete, *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 59–60
- [ὁπού ... τοῦ πτωχοῦ δανεῖ(ζει) ... ἐκείνον τὸν χαρίζει τὴν ἄμετρον γλυκύτητα
16th c./15th c., ?Crete, *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 111–13
- ὁ ἐνδιάθετος νόμος, ὃν ἔδωκεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν Ἀδάμ: ὁ ἐσὺ μισεῖς, ἐτέρω μὴ ποιήσῃς
17th c., Cyprus, CHRISTODOULOU 1983: A, 407.409

Prepositional Phrases (attested in all areas)

- τὸ κορμί μου δίδω το σήμερα εἰς ἐσένα 15th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* L 727
- πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔλεγαν οἱ συγγενεῖς τῆς κόρης 16th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* O 618
- καὶ ἱκετικῶς ἀναφέρουσι πρὸς τὴν πανιερότητά σου ὅτι γραφὴν τῆς πανιερότητός
σου εἶδασιν 1615, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 6, 174.6–7
- ἀπὸ κεῖ ἔστειλε ἔς τὸν Ἰωάννη βασιλέα Παλαιολόγο ὅτι ...
17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 25.11

NOTES

- (i) Verbs, including impersonal verbs, that in AG governed or allowed the inclusion of a dative NP denoting an affected/interested party (e.g. as experiencer, beneficiary, victim etc.) may similarly assign the accusative in LMedG/EMG; such accusatives are once again in competition with the genitive, largely on a north/south basis (cf. above).

Accusative for AG Dative

- ἂν οὐ πιασθῇ καὶ δαμασθῇ ..., ὡς ὄρνεον πετάζεται, δοκοῦν τὸν ὄλα ὁμάλιν
13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 128–9
- κἂν καὶ κίνδυνος ..., κἂν θάνατος ἐπώδυνος με πρόκειται ἀπὸ τούτου, ...
τολήσειν θέλω ... τὰ τῆς τιμῆς σου πάντα ... κατὰ λεπτὸν νὰ γράψω
?12th c. or 13th–14th c., *Eisit.* f.5v.5–14
- ἐγὼ εἶμαι, λέγει, ἀδελφέ· μὴ με τὸ ἀπιστήσῃς 14th c., *Log. parig.* L 108
- φαίνεται τὸν στοῦ σπίντιν του εὐρίσκεται ἀπέσω 15th c., *Peri xen.* 34
- ἔπρεπέ τὸν νὰ φόρεσε μαντὶ καὶ καμηλαύχι 16th c., *Kakop.* 127
- διὰ ποῖα ὁρμὴ με τὰ κρατᾶς αὐτοῦ (καὶ δὲν θέλεις νὰ μοῦ στείλῃς τὸ πράγμα
μου;) 1696, Albania, MERTZIOS 1947a: 13, 215.3–4
- ἐμισέψασι ... χάνοντας καὶ κάμποσα φλωρία, ποῦ τοὺς ἐφάγασι οἱ Λιδορικιώτες
18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 42.8–13

Genitive for AG Dative

- κ' ἐκεῖνοι οὐδὲν τοῦ ἐποίκασιν τίποτε πονηρίαν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5266
- ὅταν σέ φθάσῃ αὐθέντης σου, ἀνάσκελα μοῦ πέφτεις καὶ τάχα με τοὺς πόδας σου
θέλεις νὰ βοηθᾷς 15th c./14th c., *Poulol.* 66–7
- τί μοῦ σεῖς τὸ μουστάκιν σου ἀπάνω τε καὶ κάτω; 15th c./14th c., *Diig. tetr.* 128
- καὶ ἔρχονται τοῦ πρώτου φλουριά ἰα' αθ/γα, [ὁ δεύτερος τὸν ἔρχονται φλουριά
ιγ' εα/θγ, τὸν τρίτον ἔρχονται φλουριά ιδ' βς/γα]
post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 61, 48.9–10
- χαίρετά μου τὴν μητέραν μου 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 410.20
- κάλλιον ἔναι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου νὰ κείτῃται ἀπὸ μεγάλην ἀνάγκην, περὶ νὰ ἔχη τὰ
βάρη τοῦ ἀνθρώπου 16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 28.18–21 (Konstantinopolos)
- αὐτεῖνοι τοῦ συγχύζουσι τὸν λαόν 17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 39.19

- (ii) Verbs that in AG took genitive complements (e.g. ἀκούω, for the source of a sound), or dative complements other than indirect objects etc. (e.g. ἀκολουθῶ, βοηθῶ), may also assign the accusative in LMedG/EMG. The accusative again competes with the genitive (both original and as a dative substitute), in part on the north/south basis already explained. But verbs whose meaning supported reinterpretation as “ordinary” transitives eventually come to take the accusative everywhere (e.g. βοηθῶ); in southern regions, however, those verbs that had substituted the genitive for an original dative

were assimilated to the transitive paradigm more slowly and the process continues into the modern era. Correspondingly, prepositions are increasingly used in all areas to support NPs that were clearly felt to be insufficiently object-like (e.g. ἀκούω κάτι ἀπὸ κάποιου(ν)).

Accusative for AG Dative (ἀκολουθῶ, βοηθῶ, compounds with συν- etc.)

τὰ δὲ τυπικά τῶν μεγάλων μοναστηρίων ... εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα οὐ συμφωνοῦν τοὺς
θείους κανόνας οὔτε ἄλλην θείαν γραφήν

12th c./11th c., ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 4 214.14–16

τοὺς Φράγκους ἐμαχόντησαν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1079

βουλὴν ἐζήτησεν αὐτῶν τοῦ νὰ τὸν συμβουλέψουν περὶ τοῦ τόπου τοῦ Μορέως
πῶς νὰ τὸν κυβερνήσῃ 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7829–30

βοήθα τὸν ξενούτζικον 15th c./14th c., *Flor.* L 77

μὲ ἐβοηθήσατε κ' ἡπῆρα τὸ γονικὸ μου 16th c./14th c., *Chron. Mor.* P 70

τώρα νὰ ἰδῶ ποῖος ἀπὸ σᾶς μὲ θέλει ἀκολουθήσει 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1037

εἶχαμεν σκύλον καὶ ἐβοήθειν λύκον 16th c./?, *Paroim.* H 88

Genitive for AG Dative (southern areas, into the modern era)

δὲν μοῦ ἐβοηθούσασα 16th c./15th c., *Syndipas* 121.40–1

ἀκλούθησέν του 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 566.32

βοηθᾶς μου 17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Katz.* I.334

Accusative for AG Genitive (with NPs typically denoting a part, source or objective)

τὸν πόλεμον ἀρχάσαν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1413

νὰ σὲ εἰπῶ καὶ ἄλλον, τὸ ἤκουσα τοὺς γέροντας καὶ τοὺς προπάτοράς μου
15th c./14th c., *Diig. tetr.* 689–90 app. crit. (CA)

πολλὰ ἐπεθύμην βασιλείαν, πολλὰ ἐπεθύμα δόξαν 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 2206

τοῦτο παρακαλῶ καὶ δέομαι τὴν παναγιότητά σου, νὰ ἔχω συγχώρησιν
1622, ?Karpachos, ZERLENDIS 1918d: B, 300.17–18

AG Genitive Occasionally Retained (higher styles, traditional phraseology)

ἐκεῖ ὅπου ἐδέοντο τοῦ Θεοῦ νὰ δώσῃ βροχήν, τοὺς ἔπεμψε χαλάζιν μεγάλον καὶ
φοβερόν 17th c., *Chron.* 1619 1149–50

καθὼς μοῦ ἀκούσατε 17th c., VAROUCHAS, *Logoi* 466.42–467.1

Prepositional Phrases for Bare Cases

ἀπὸ σαλοῦ καὶ μεθυστοῦ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἄκουε 16th c./?, *Paroim.* H 7

ὅσοι ἦσαν μαχεζόμενοι μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως 16th c./15th c., LIMEN., *Velis.* (A) 642 app. crit.

οὔτε ἀπὸ μάθημα ἐμέτεχεν 17th c., RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 61.17

ὥσάν λαϊκὸς νὰ συγκοινωνᾷ με τοὺς κοσμικοὺς 17th c., RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 105.29

ἐσυνωμίλησα καὶ μετὰ τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου πατρός

1707, Ioannina, VELOUDIS 1987: 13, 310, f.1r.4

5.1.3.2 Accusative Adjuncts

Accusative of Space/Extent (including measures)

(61) The accusative is used adverbially to mark NPs denoting the space in/ throughout which something takes place, the size of a person or object, or a distance traversed; such accusatives may specify both verbs and adjectives.

μαθὼν καὶ τοῦ ἀργαβιάζεσαι, τὰ ὧς δὲν ἔχεις τόπον

14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* III 246 app. crit. (P)

ἦτον (γυναῖκα) α ὀργυλῆς ὑψηλὴ καὶ διακόσιες ὀργυλῆς χοντρή

16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 36.9 (Konstantinopulos)

ἦσαν (δένδρα) ὑψηλὰ πῆχες ἑκατόν

16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 335.19

εἰς τὸ πατριαρχεῖον ... εἶναι γράμματα γλυπτὰ τὸ γύρωθεν τῆς ἐκκλησίας

1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 7, 15.1–2

Extended/Metaphorical Uses (including fixed expressions)

ἄλλον τόσον εἶνε μισισμένος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἕως αὐτῆς μας!

16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 252.30

καὶ τὴν ἄλλην μερέαν ὅτι ... τοῦ εἶχε εἰπεῖ ὁ πασᾶς βιζήρης ὅτι νὰ μὴν πάγῃ νὰ

πολεμήσῃ με τὸν Ταμερλάνο

17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 39.6–8

ὁμως, σὲ παρακαλῶ, ἀνασηκώσου κομμάτι

18th c., *Don Kis.* 47.6–7

NOTE

- (i) Locative NPs in the accusative case define extended areas rather than specific points in space (for which prepositional phrases headed by εἰς/σέ + accusative are normally used).

Accusative of Time

(62) The accusative is similarly used to mark NPs denoting a period of time at/within/throughout which something takes place; the meaning may be distributive ("in/during each period X") when the context is generic, as often in legal documents.

ἀπῆρες ὕπνον ὀλιγόν, ἐκάμμυες ὥρίσαν

13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 166

ψυχὴ μου κακοτύχερε, μῖαν ἐχάρης ῶραν

13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 196

ἐκράτησεν ὁ γάμος τοὺς τρῆς μῆνας ἀκεραίους

15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 1083

μετὰ τὸ δοῦναι τὴν ἀπόφασιν, καρτερεῖ ὁ κριτὴς ἡμέρας 1'

ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 73.170

τὸ μεσόνυκτο ἐγένετο ἀστραπαὶ καὶ βροντὴ καὶ ροπή

1326, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 41, 93.5–6

τὴν νύχτα ἐκείνη παρευτὺς ἔσωσεν τὸ μαντάτο στὸν Καμπανέσην

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1539–40

εἰς τὴν Κλαρέντσαν ἔσωσεν τὸ ἔβγα τοῦ μαῖου

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7848

τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν, ἡμέρα Σαββάτω, ἐπέθανε ἡ μακαρισμένη ἀρχόντισσα τοῦ σιρ

Τζορ Ταρτούζ

1391, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 2, 88.1–2

- ὄργην νὰ ἔλθῃ ἀπάνω του ὅπου ποτὲ ἀγάπην θελήσῃ μὲ τὸν Πρίαμον νὰ ἔχῃ μίαν
ἡμέραν 16th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1468-9
- τοῦ Αὐγουστοῦ τὰ πεντάλιτρα τὸν Μάιον ἀναζητοῦνται 16th c./?, *Paroim.* H 19
- ἐβλέπαν τον ἀμπέξω μέρα νύκταν 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 56, 58.38, 4
- ἐκεῖνην τὴν εὐλογημένην νύκταν ὅπου ἐγεννήθη ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός ...,
ἐφανίσθησαν σημεῖα πολλὰ καὶ διάφορα 16th c., *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 332.31-3
- τὴν σήμερον ἡμέραν εἰς τὸ πατριαρχεῖον ... εἶναι γράμματα γλυπτὰ τὸ γύρωθεν τῆς
ἐκκλησίας 1565-75, Constantinople, *FOERSTER* 1877: 7, 15.1-2
- ἤκουσαν τὰ δικαιώματα τοῦ ἐνὸς μέρους καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου ... μία καὶ δύο καὶ πολλάκις
βολές 1581, Kefalonia, *ZAPANDI* 2001a: 46, 43.2-4
- ἐπολέμησέ την (Σουμάκια) καμπόσες ἡμέρες 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 31.3

Idiomatic Expression

- ἐτελεύτησεν καὶ αὐτήν, σήμερον δέκα ἡμέρες
1684, Naxos, *SIFONIOU-KARAPA* et al. 1982/83: 436, 659.15
- ("today ten days" = "ten days ago", cf. *MG* ἐδῶ καὶ δέκα μέρες)

Distributive (= "per")

- τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἑκατὸν δουκάτα τὸν μῆνα, ἤγουν χίλια καὶ διακόσια τὸν χρόνον, νὰ
ἐξοδιάζωνται εἰς τινὰς ἄρχοντας καὶ καλὰ πρόσωπα
1465, Rome, *LAMBROS* 1930: 285.6-8
- νᾶχουν δμπλιγον τὰ παιδιὰ μου ... νὰ βάνουν νὰ μᾶς λέσι κάθε παιδί τὸν χρόνον
λειτουργγαῖς πενήντα 1662, Sifnos, *MERTZIOS* 1958a: 1, 110.157

NOTE

- (i) Temporal accusatives define the period of time for which or within which something occurs; a specific point in time at which something occurs (i.e. a temporal location *conceived* as punctual – it may in fact be a particular day or month etc.) is marked either with the dative (a traditional AG use, see 5.1.5) or a prepositional phrase headed by εἰς/σέ + accusative.

Accusative of Respect/Accusative of Specification

- (63) NPs that are used to delimit or further specify the denotation of nouns, verbs (normally intransitive or passive) and adjectives are often inflected in the accusative.

Such NPs identify a restricted domain of applicability for verbs and adjectives (e.g. "suffer in (respect of) the heart", "bold in (respect of) appearance"), and normally specify the denotation of nouns by defining contents (e.g. "a cup of water"), specifying varieties (e.g. "an olive-tree root") or identifying what is quantified (e.g. "an acre of wheat"). In older texts and in legal documents such NPs are also used with proper names and trades/crafts (e.g. "Alexander by name", "a potter by trade").

With Nouns

- ἀφίνω καὶ ἑπτὰ ἱερεῖς ἀπὸ δύο ὑπερπύρων σιτάρην
ca. 1270, Athos, *BOMPAIRE* 1964: 9A, 82.55
- θέλω νὰ ἀφηγήσωμαι περὶ τὸν Μέγαν Κύρην, μισρ Γυλιάμο τὸ ὄνομα, τὸ ἐπὶ κλην
ντὲ λὰ Ρότζε 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7958-9
- [ἐὰν αἱ τῆς σκιάς πῆχες θ' με δίδουν ξύλου ὕψος πῆχας ζ',] αἱ ζέ' πῆχαι σκιά πόσον
ὕψος πύργου μᾶς θέλουν δώσει;
post 1427, Unknown, *HUNGER/VOGEL* 1963: 17, 22.3-4
- ἄφηκα τὸν παπα Τζουάνην κεχρὶ κιλὰ δώδεκα
15th c., Meteora, *VEIS* et al. 1998: 225, 246, f.163v.10
- ἀπὸ τὸ πλοῦτος τὸ πολὺ ... οὐδὲν ἐπῆρα μετ' ἐμὲν ..., εἰμὴ ἔξι πῆχες σάβανον κ'
ἐσαβανώσασί με 16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 65-7
- δὸς με κοῦπα νεράκι, διὰ τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ ἄρχου σου, μὲ τὸ ἴδιο σου τὸ χερᾶκι
16th c./15th c., *Synax. gyn.* 393-4
- ἔτι μάρτυρας παρακαλεμένος μαῖστρο Ἀνδρέας Δρούσουλας, βουτηκλάρης τὴν τέχνην
1515, Crete, *KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS* 2003: 43, 75.24-5
- μὰ ρίζαν ἐλαία καὶ συκὲς τρεῖς καὶ δύο ρίζες ἀπιδές
1597, Crete, *BAKKER/VAN GEMERT* 1987: 9, 31.5-6
- si servono anco dell' Accusativo in vece del Genitivo in questi modi di parlare: ἔναν
ποτήρι νερόν, un bicchier d'acqua, ἕναν κομμάτι κρέας, un pezzo di carne, δύο
λαγήνια κρασί, due brocche di vino, & simili 17th c., *GERMANO, Grammar* 53.25-9
- ἐπροσῆλωσεν εἰς τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς μονὴν εἴκοσι στρέμματα ἀμπέλι
1634, Serres region, *ODORICO* 1998: 58, 156.10
- ἂν ὁ μητροπολίτης ... σοῦ γυρεύσῃ νὰ δώσῃς παραπάνω ἀπὸ ταῖς δέκα ὀκάδες τὸ
χαβιάρι, ... τίποτε παραπάνω νὰ μὴ δώσῃς
1706, Constantinople, *LEGRAND* 1903: 21, 59, 60.31-2, 1-2

With Verbs

- ταύτας τάς τρεῖς κολάσεις ἐνταῦθα τάς κολάζομαι 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. III* 226-7
- Ἀγαμέμνων τηνικαῦτα τὴν καρδίαν ἐπικράνθη 15th c./14th c., *ERMON., Ilias* 7.102-3
- νὰ ἀποσκεπάζωνται τὸ κεφάλι τους 1465, Rome, *LAMBROS* 1930: 287.18
- ἵπνουν τὸ κεφάλι 16th c., *ZINOS, Vatr.* 328

With Adjectives

- Ἰανουάριος ἦτον ἀπ' αὐτόν, νὰ στήκεται καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἄνθρωπος ὁλος κυνηγός, ὁλος
θαρούς τὸ σχῆμα 15th c./13th-14th c., *Liv.* α 1179-80
- τὴν ἑπαρσιν ἀβάστατος, ἀγέρωχος τὸ σχῆμα
16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 27
- τ' ἄλλα πάντα θαυμαστούς, [γενναίους εἰς ἀνδρείαν]
16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 30
- ὅπου μαι δίχα σάρκωσιν, τὰ κόκκαλα γλυμένος 16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 30

NOTE

- (i) Use of the accusative of respect with verbs and adjectives is a residual feature of older/more literary texts and is widely replaced by prepositional phrases in later/more vernacular material.

Accusative of Exclamation

- (64) NPs used in exclamations directed towards an individual are regularly inflected in the accusative (with or without an introductory particle) throughout the period of this Grammar.

ποῦ νὰ εὕρης ἄλλον Πρόδρομον τοιοῦτον, τὴν κεφαλὴν σου;
15th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* (Maiuri) 39

τὸν Θεόν, καλὲ νεώτερε, ποῦ μένουν οἱ ἀπελάτες;
15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 640

ὠχὼ μας τοὺς ἔλενους
15th c., ?Crete, KAKOULIDI 1958/59: 120

ὀγαῖ τον κείνον ποῦ εὗρεθῇ νὰ 'ναι μ' αὐτὴν τὴν γνώμη
16th c., GLYKYS, *Penth. Than.* 311

ὦ τὸν ἄσεβῃ!
16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 415.33

NOTE

- (i) The accusative in greetings may be related, but the conventionalized ellipsis of a verb meaning "wish" provides an equally plausible explanation:

κύρ γάδαρέ μου, χεῖρά σου, χίλια καλῶς ἐβρήκαμε ἐδῶ τὴν ἀφεντιά σου
16th c., *Fyll. gadar.* 11-12

"Cognate Object" Constructions

- (65) Verbs may occasionally take accusative NP adjuncts with head nouns that are formally cognate.

These are not true objects (there are no corresponding passive sentences), and the fact that the NPs in question almost always contain adjectives shows that they largely replicate the role of manner adverbials (*hate a great hate* = *hate greatly* etc.).

ἐτζάκκισεν καὶ ἀντροπίασεν τὸν ὄρκον τοῦ ἀπὸ τὴν μεγάλην μισητείαν ἀποῦ μᾶς
μισῶ
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 252.28-9

ἐκτύπησε ἕναν ἐκτύπον παράξενο καὶ ἡ πέτρα ἔδωσε εἰς τὸν τοῖχο καὶ ἔκαμε μίαν
τρούπα μεγάλην
?15th-16th c., Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 60.15-16

ἄρχισαν νὰ κλαίουσαν καὶ νὰ φωνάζουν φωνὲς μεγάλες
16th c., PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 105.23

NOTES

- (i) Verbs may also take adverbial NP adjuncts headed by non-cognate nouns with closely related meanings; besides those containing the usual adjective there are also reduplicated expressions indicating intensification (e.g. *κλότζον τὸν κλότζον* in the first example below = "[with] kick after kick" etc.):

ὁ βούβαλος ... κλότζον τὸν κλότζον ἐκρουεν τὸν πάρδον μὲ τοὺς πόδας
15th c./14th c., *Diig. tetr.* 1028-9

ἔλεγεν φωνὴν ἀγγελικὴν καθαρὰν, ὅτι ἐγεννήθηκεν ἀπὸ μίαν παρθένον ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ
16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 335.1-2

- (ii) Ordinary transitive verbs may take direct objects that happen to be formally cognate, but these are obviously not "cognate object constructions" in any interesting sense:

τότε πάλιν ὁ ἀμειράς τοῦτον τὸν λόγον λέγει
15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 18

ἔδερναν τὸν Χριστόν, καὶ παθαίνοντας τὰ πάθη ἐχαλότον ὀλίγον κατ' ὀλίγον
16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 333.41-2

ἴντα κανίσκιν ἄσκημο μ' ἔχεις κανισκεμένη!
17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Erof.* V.398

- (iii) As a means of intensification, intransitive verbs with the core meaning "have some experience" exhibit marginal transitive uses involving NPs headed by cognate nouns or nouns of closely related meaning:

τάρταρον τὸν τουρτουρισμόν, τὸν τουρτουρίζω τώρα
14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* III 230

κάλλιον τὸ ἔχω, θάνατον σήμερον ν' ἀποθάνω περὶ νὰ εἰποῦσιν ἄλλαχού νὰ μὲ
κατηγορήσουν
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1134-5

ἂν ἦτον καὶ νὰ μπόρει τὸν ὕπνον νὰ κοιμᾶτον, ἀλησμονήσειν ἤθελεν ὀλίγον ἐκ τὴν
λύπην
15th c., *Peri xen.* 23-4

5.1.4 Genitive

5.1.4.1 Complements of Verbs

Genitive of Indirect Object and Related Complements

- (66) In southern areas, including S. Italy and Sicily, the indirect objects of ditransitive verbs and the complements of many other verbs that were marked dative in AG may be expressed by means of a genitive NP.

Alternatively a prepositional phrase headed by *εἰς/σέ* or *πρὸς* + accusative may be used. Such PPs appear in this function in all locations, especially in later periods, and are most usually substituted for NPs headed by other than 1st/2nd-person pronouns.

πέπρακα αὐτὸ τοῦ κυροῦ Κωνσταντίνου διὰ νόμισμα ἕν
1076-7, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1963: 1, 46.8

νὰ μὲ τὸ διερμηνέψης (πῶς στήκει τὸ κάστρον), καὶ μὴ τολμήσης νὰ τὸ εἰπῇς
ἀνθρώπου γεννημένου
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8216-17

ἐμήνυσεν τοῦ καστελλάνου νὰ ἔλθῃ
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8228

δὲν μοῦ φάνη κ' ἔζησα στὰ πλούτη μίαν ἡμέραν
16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 73

γυρεύουν ὅτι νὰ τοὺς δώσουν τὸν Σαμφών, ... καὶ οἱ Ἰσραηλίται ... φοβοῦνται καὶ
δίδουν τὸν Σαμφών δεμένον τῶν ἐχθρῶν
16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 278.32-4

- ποτέ μου δὲ σοῦ εἶπα τίποτας 16th c., *Nov. I* 156.15
 ἀφίει καὶ ἐμοῦ τοῦ νοταρίου διὰ τὸν κόπον μου ὑπέρπυρα εἰκοσιπέντε
 1596, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 1, 165.42
 ἀφήνει τῆς Καντιῶς ὅ,τι μερτικό τοῦ ἐγγίζει στὸ χωράφι τῆς Κουκουβάγιας
 1613, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 9, 311.22
 τὰ ὅσα ἔχω δοσμένα τῶν ἐπιτρόπων 1662, Sifnos, MERTZIOS 1958a: 1, 109.115
 τῇ γραφῇ ... ἐλάβαμε ..., τὴν ὁποία ἐδιαβάσαμε τῆνε, ὡς ἔπρεπε, τοῦ δεσπότη καὶ
ὀλονοῦ τοῦ λαοῦ 1665, Mani, BLANKEN 1951: VIII, 305.5

With Prepositional Phrases (attested in all areas)

- ἀνταπεκρίνατο πρὸς με ὁ ὑποψήφιος [λέγων μοι ὅτι ...]
 ?1144, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 9, 313.4-5
πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἀποκρίθη 16th c./14th c., *Ptochol.* α 722
 π(εζάν)τ(ια) τ' δομένα στοὺς κάτ(ωθε) τόπο(υ)ς
 1468, Nicosia, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 48, 26.3
 ἐδώκασιν τὸν λεγόμενον Ἀντώνη εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τοῦ εὐγενοῦς φρα Γιλιάμου
 1491, Rhodes, TSIRPANLIS 1988: 1, 234.26
 ἀενάως στέλνων ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ πρὸς αὐτοὺς δωρεάς
 17th c./16th c., *Ekth. Chron.* 40.24-5
 ἐσεῖς ... ἄπονη βουλὴν ἐδώκετε σ' ἐμένα 18th c./16th-17th c., KORNAROS, *Erot.* IV.319

NOTE

- (i) For further examples of the genitive in southern areas, specifically to mark NPs denoting an interested party (e.g. experiencer, beneficiary, victim etc., all marked dative in AG) or the complements of verbs such as ἀκολουθῶ, βοηθῶ etc. (+ dative in AG), see Rule (60) NOTES (i) and (ii).

Genitive Governed by Adjectives

- (67) A small number of adjectives take genitive complements in early/more literary texts; only ἄξιος retains this construction with any regularity in later periods, where it remains a learned feature.

- πάντας ἄξιους ἔκρινεν τοῦ στέφους καὶ τοῦ κράτους
 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 38
 κοινὴν βουλὴν ἃς εἶπωμεν, ἂν ἔναι θελητόν σου πῶς καὶ γενοῦμεν ἐγκρατεῖς τοῦ
κάστρου καὶ τῆς κόρης 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1032-3
 ἂν οἱ προσευχῆς ... ἐνεργοῦσιν εἰς τὴν ζωὴν ταύτην, καὶ πόσον μᾶλλον μετὰ θάνατον,
 εἰς ἐκείνους ὅπου εἶναι ἄξιοι τῶν ἱερῶν εὐχῶν ...; 16th c., *Pist. kekoim.* 100
 ὁπότεν ἐθέλασιν γυρέψειν νὰ πουλήσουν τίποτι, νὰ εἶναι ἐκπτῶτοι τῆς ἐκκλησίας
 καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῆς 1615, Santorini, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 9, 5.47-8

5.1.4.2 Genitive Adjuncts

- (68) Genitive NPs may be used to mark the reason for/cause of an eventuality, or to specify a time/place within which something occurred.

Genitive of Reason/Cause

- ἦλθε μου λακταρισμὸς νὰ πέσω ν' ἀποθάνω καὶ ν' ἀποθάνω ὁ ἐλεεινὸς αἰφνίδιου
θανάτου 15th c., *Peri xen.* 331
 ὀλιγοψύχησεν πολλὰ κι ἔπεσεν τοῦ θανάτου 15th c., *Peri xen.* 401
 μὰ κλαίγει καὶ τῇ τύχῃς του πολλὰ παραπονᾶται
 17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Panor.* III.508
 ἀκόμη τόγγονοῦ μου τοῦ Τζάν Φραντζέσκο τοῦ Κορνάρο ... παραπονοῦμαι
 1625, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 6, 79.23
 μιὰ ψυχὴ, ἀπὸ εὐρίσκεται τοῦ πόθου ἀρρωστημένη, σφαίνει τσί πλιάτερες φορές
 καὶ μένει κομπωμένη 17th c., TROILOS, *Rodol.* IV.163-4

NOTE

- (i) The genitive of reason/cause may be used absolutely in a number of archaic/conventionalized exclamations that originate for the most part in liturgical texts and represent a reaction to a situation or occurrence:

- ἐνέβην ἐς τὸ ξύλον καὶ ἀρμενίσαν - ὦ τοῦ θαύματος! - παραῦτα ἐγίνην ζάλη καὶ
 ἦρτα νὰ πνιγοῦσιν 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 62.11-13
 παγαίνοντας εἰς τὸ σπῆτι του, - ὦ τοῦ θαύματος! - ἀπὸ τὸ σακούλι, ὅπου ἔβαλε
 τὸ κεφάλι, ἔτρεχεν αἷμα! 16th c., DIONYS., *Istor.* 253.23-4
 ὦ τῆς μακροθυμίας σου, δέσποτα πολυέλεε Θεέ!
 18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 25.12-13

Genitive of Place/Time

The genitive is used residually, mainly in fixed expressions, to denote an area within/via which, or a period of time during/within which, something takes place.

Place

- ἂν θέλω ... νὰ στείλω (τὰ φουσσᾶτα) μὲ τὰ κάτεργα νὰ ὑπάγουν τῆς θαλάσσης κι
 ἀπαύτου ... νὰ ὑπάγουν τῆς στερέας, ... νὰ τὸν (= τὸν τόπον σου) ἐπάρουν
 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4233-7

Time

- εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ἐτήρησα πολλοῦ καιροῦ κτισμένη 16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 17
τῆς ὥρας ἑκατέβη κάτω ἀπὸ τὸ θεῖον κελίον αὐτοῦ καὶ ὄρισε καὶ ἀνοῖξαν τὴν
 ἐκκλησίαν 16th c., MALAXOS M., *Ist. patr.* 218.32-3
 ἐκεῖ ἐπροσεύχeton ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός 16th c., *Martyr. Vlas.* 245.7

NOTE

- (i) There are a few related phrases of the same type involving an extended use of the genitive to denote the medium of communication:

Σαρακηνὸς ἐλάλησεν τὸν ἀμυρὰν τῆς γλώσσης 15th c./12th c., *Dig. E* 21

- (69) The genitive is widely used to mark NPs functioning as adnominal modifiers, i.e. that variously delimit the denotation of the head nouns they are in construction with.

It is often difficult to say what the precise meaning of a given genitive is, and any classificatory system of adnominal genitive adjuncts will necessarily be in some degree arbitrary; here they are grouped under three general headings, possession, specification and description.

Genitive of Possession/Belonging

τίς ... τὴν χαρὰν νὰ ἰσχύσῃ καταλέγειν, τίς τοῦ λαοῦ τὴν χαρμονὴν ..., τῶν τῆς συγκλήτου πολιτῶν 12th c. or 13th–14th c., *Eisit. f.7v.3–10*

κλίνει τῶν δύνων τὰς κεφαλὰς, γαβροῦ καὶ θυγατρὸς τοῦ 15th c./14th–15th c., *Achil. N* 1528

συνάχθητε ὁμοῦ ὧδε σήμερον, νὰ μαθήσωμεν τὰ γένια τοῦ σπανοῦ 16th c./14th–15th c., *Spanos D* 1149–50

ἀπ' αὐτὰ ἐχάλασεν τοῦ πρίγκιπος ἡ ἀρμάτα 15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 1896

στάς δεκαπέντε τοῦ μηνός, λέγω τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου 16th c., *ZINOS, Alex. Rim. Epil.* 57

ὁμως ἀνέβη καὶ ἔκαμεν εἰς τὰ γόνατα τοῦ Διὸς τὰ αὐγά 16th c., *Vios Aisop. K* 205.5

NOTE

- (i) The possessive genitive may also be used predicatively, sometimes with additional nuances:

μὴ βλέπῃς τὸ ἀπάκιν μας, οὐκ ἔνι τοῦ λάρυγγός σου 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. III* 248
“it's not your throat's” = “for your throat”

Genitive of Specification (defining the particular case/kind, with various nuances)

μονοκύθρου μ' ἔδωκε καθ' ὕπνους μυρωδία 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. I* 235

εἰ μὲν συμβῇ ὁ ἀφέντης τοῦ ... καὶ νὰ τὸν ἔχη εἰς φυλακὴν, εἰς τιμωρίαν σιδήρων, νὰ τὸν ζητήσῃ ὁ ἀφέντης τοῦ καὶ νὰ τὸν ἀνακράξῃ 14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 7572–4

ἀμμέ ὁ σὶρ Τουμάς δὲν τὸν ἐλείψεν ἡ πικρία τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ 16th c./15th c., *VOUSTR., Chron. A* 28.15

“the bitterness of (arising from) his brother's death”

τότες δὲν εἶναι καιρὸς τῆς βοηθείας οὐδὲ ποσῶς, ἀλλὰ πᾶσα παρακάλεσι ἀπρακτὴ καὶ ἀνωφέλετη 16th c., *Pist. kekoim.* 159–60

“a time of (to seek) relief/assistance”

εἰς τὸ ἐκλαμπρότατον Κολέγιον Χανδάκου Κρήτης 1598, Crete, *BAKKER/VAN GEMERT* 1987: 30, 49.12–13

“the College of Chandax of (in) Crete”

ἔδ᾿ ἂν καιρὸς τοῇ προσευκῇ, δάκρυα δριμιά τυχαίνου, νὰ συμπαθήσῃ ὁ Κύριος πᾶσα κριματισμένου 17th c./16th–17th c., *Thysia Avr.* 579–80

ἐρχίνισασιν εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον νὰ κτίζουσι μοναστήρια καὶ νὰ πρεμαζώνονται τὰ πλήθη τῶν μοναχῶν 17th c., *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 31.20–1

ὀργισθήκασι περίσσα καὶ ἀφρίζασι ἀπὸ λύσσα ἐκδίκησης 18th c., *EFTHYM., Chron. Gal.* 16.23–4
“fury of (for/arising from) revenge”

Genitive of Description (including measures)

ἔτερον χωράφιν εἰς τὴν Παληρέαν μοδίων ἡ' ca. 1270, Athos, *BOMPAIRE* 1964: 9A, 80.27

ἐννόμους δὲ γάμους πληροῦσιν οἱ Ρωμαῖοι, ὅταν εἶναι ὁ ἄνθρωπος χρόνων ἰδ' καὶ ἄνωθεν, ... καὶ ἡ γυναῖκα νὰ εἶναι χρόνων ἰβ' καὶ ἄνωθεν ca. 1300, Cyprus, *MARUHN* 1981: 238.400–2

εἰς τὸ κουμοῦ τῆς Βενετίας ἐξέβησαν ἀνθρώποι γνώσεως μεγάλης καὶ στρατειᾶς 14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 950–1

ἐβγήκε κακῆς προαιρέσεως ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἐβουλεύθη κακὰ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ὅπου τὸν ἀνάθρεψεν 16th c., *DIONYS., Istor.* 252.11–13

εὐρίσκονται ἄνδρες τοῦ σπαθίου τριανταπέντε χιλιάδες 1609, Cyprus, *CHASIOTIS* 1972: 35, 59.10

5.1.5 Dative

- (70) In vernacular LMedG/EMG the dative case is no longer employed creatively and survives chiefly in lexicalized clichés and other fossilized expressions such as dating formulae.

In early texts, however, the dative is not uncommon in short verbal phrases comprising imperatives and personal pronouns; subsequently, dative pronouns (often with other verb forms) are a mark of influence from more learned registers and/or of traditional practice in certain “higher” domains.

Its occasional appearance as a variant of other cases or forms of expression involving more complex NPs is typically inspired by traditional usage in a specific domain or by the actual words of an ancient (often religious) source.

Dative Pronouns

[φέρε με καὶ βλάχικον τυρὶν σταμεναρέαν], καὶ δός μοι νὰ προγεύσωμαι καὶ πάλιν νὰ πετσώνω 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. III* 119–20

δότε μοι πετσὶν διὰ τὰ ὑποδήματά μου 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. IV* 144

“τί ἐνι τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὅπερ λέγεις;” εἶπε μοι ὅτι “ὁ μητροπολίτης Φιλίππων” 1337/8, Constantinople, *HUNGER et al.* 1995: 109, 92.57–8

ἐμένα ... φαίνεται μοι ὡς ἀναγκαιότατον ... πρῶτον ὁ ἱατρός 1465, Rome, *LAMBROS* 1930: 286.4–5

ἔλεγα «βοηθεῖτε μοι!» κ' ἐκεῖνοι ἀφήκασί με 16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 63

Fossilized Phrases/Dating Formulae

ἐν τούτῳ παύομαι ἐδῶ νὰ λέγω κι ἀφηγοῦμαι περὶ τοῦ ρῆγα Κάρουλου
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7955–6

ἐχαρίσαμε τοῦ Γεωργίου ... τὸ κοπέλι ..., ὀνόματι Φίλιππο Θεοδόση Βεντούρη
1468, Nicosia, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 72, 36.1–4

τῇ ἱε' αὐγούστου 'ασπς' τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς Θεοτόκου ἐστέφθην ὁ ρε Χάρην εἰς τὴν
χώραν τῆς Τύρου ρήγας 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 42.3–5

(τὰ δαιμόνια) εἶχαν πέσει ἀπὸ τοὺς οὐρανοὺς εἰς τὴν γῆν, τότες ὅπου ἠθέλησαν νὰ
γένουν ὅμοιοι τῷ Θεῷ τῷ ὑψίστῳ 16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 335.27–30

ἐν τῷ ἅμα τοῦ ἔστειλε λόγον 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 29.3

διὰ τοῦτο γράφω ἰδίᾳ χειρὶ καὶ ποιῶ παραίτησιν τοῦ θρόνου τῆς ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς
Καρπάθου 1622, ?Karpathos, ZERLENDIS 1918d: B, 300.14–15

ἀποφασίσαμεν ἅπαντες κοινῇ γνώμῃ καὶ βουλῇ ὅτι νὰ πωλήσωμεν τὰ κελλία τῆς
μεγάλης Μέσης 1661, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 71, 200.5

περὶ ταῖς καλαῖς σας ὑγείαις πολλὰ τὸ ἐχάρηκα καὶ παρακαλῶ τὸν Θεὸν νὰ τὴν εὕρῃ
ἡ παροῦσα ἐν ὑγείαις καὶ πάσῃ χαρᾷ 1696, Albania, MERTZIOS 1947a: 16, 216.5–6

Ἱστορία Γαλαξειδίου ... Διὰ χερὸς Εὐθυμίου Ἱερομονάχου ἔτος ... αψγ' μηνὶ Μαρτίου
18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 13.1–10

Some Other Uses

ἄλλο μῆνυμαν ἐκ τοὺς ἀποσωστάς σου τῷ βασιλεῖ κατέλαβεν γέμον χαρὰν μεγάλην
?12th c. or 13th–14th c., *Eisit.* f.1r.3–8

“ambassadors to the emperor”

ὁ ... πάπας ... ἔταξε νὰ δίδῃ κάθε μῆνα τὰ αὐθεντόπουλα δουκάτα τριακόσια,
ὥσπερ ἔδιδε καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ τῷ δεσπότη καὶ πατρὶ αὐτῶν
1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 284.9–11

(traditional high style in reference to the emperor, as above)

ἀπέθανε καὶ ἡ δέσποινα κυρὰ Ἄννα ... λοιμῶδει νόσῳ
15th c., SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 12.22–3

(instrumental dative as in AG)

ἐσγάψαν τὴν γῆν καὶ ἐμπῆκαν μέσα, καὶ ἐπροσεύχονταν τῷ Θεῷ
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 30.5–6

(+ dative in AG, though normally used absolutely in New Testament)

λέγουσιν ... πῶς ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἀναπνοῇ σὰν ἕναν ζῦγιν αἱ πράξεις τῶν ἀν(θρώπων)
ζυγιάζονται καὶ δοκιμάζονται 16th c., *Pist. kekoim.* 567–8

5.2 Complements of Nouns

Complementation of nouns is frequent, although not mandatory as it is with verbs or prepositions: participants fulfilling key semantic roles are not always represented by concrete linguistic expressions (e.g. *her marriage (to John)*, *her claim (that X)*).

5.2.1 Subjective and Objective Genitives

The genitive subjects of NPs headed by nouns denoting actions (usually deverbal nouns) are not, strictly speaking, complements of the relevant head nouns any more than the subjects of sentences containing the related verbs are complements of those verbs. On the other hand, nouns denoting actions, or the agents of actions, may take true genitive NP complements, with a role corresponding to that of the direct object of the related transitive verb. Despite this grammatical difference it is convenient to treat subjective and objective genitives together in that they have the same syntactic distribution, appearing after the head noun unless preposed for emphasis or contrast (though preposing is often employed *metri gratia* in verse texts without obvious emphasis). In practice, therefore, co-occurrence of subjective and objective genitives is rare, and occurs only in early/more literary texts:

τοῦ Καλλιμάχου ζήτησις πάλιν πρὸς Χρυσορρόην τῆς πατρικῆς γεννήσεως, τῆς
χώρας καὶ τοῦ πάθους 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 600–1

The need for a double genitive construction is avoided by replacing one with a prepositional phrase (normally headed by ἀπὸ for subjective genitives, εἰς/πρὸς/μέ etc. for objective genitives; see Rule (72) NOTE (i) for examples of the latter).

(71) A NP in construction with a noun denoting an action may fulfil a role analogous to that of a subject in a sentence; such NPs are inflected in the genitive.

It is difficult to draw a line between subjective and possessive genitives (for which see 5.1.4.2); genitives are treated here as subjective when the head noun denotes something clearly more active than a simple property or quality of the NP in question.

κατὰ τὸ πεῖν τοὺς πραγματευτάδες καὶ τοῦ ναυκλέρου καὶ τοὺς ναύτας
15th c./?13th c., Cyprus, *Assizes B* 296.16–17

ἡ δὲ ἡ ρήγαινα ἐκάτizen εἰς τὸν ἡλιακὸν εἰς τὸ διάβαν τοὺς καβαλλάριδες καὶ ὅλου
τοῦ λαοῦ 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 50.12–13

εἶδαμεν τὲς ἀναζητήσεις τοῦ ἐνὸς μέρους καὶ τὲς ἀπόκρισεις τοῦ ἑτέρου μέρους πολλὰς
καὶ πλείστας φορὰς 1575, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 10, 63.4

ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγκάλης καὶ κυβέρνησης ἐνοῦ πριντζίτου τόσο γλυκότατου
1671, Cythera, PSARAS 1989: 150.16

(72) A NP in construction with a noun denoting an action, or the agent of an action, may fulfil a role analogous to that of the object of a transitive verb; such NPs are inflected in the genitive.

With Action Nouns

ὁ τρέχων εἰς τὸν κόσμον, οὐκ ἔχει φόβον πενθερᾶς 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 126-7
τῶν ὀδυνῶν μου κουφισμόν, ἐπαύξησιν ζωῆς μου καὶ τῆς πνοῆς μου σύστασιν πῶς
 νὰ τὴν ἐξεπλέξω; 12th c. or 13th-14th c., *Eisit.* f.8r.7-10

καὶ εἰς πόθον τῆς ἀγάπης σου ἔφερεν τὴν ψυχὴν μου
 15th c./14th-15th c., *Achil.* L 723

ἐτρέχασιν ὅλοι ἀπὸ τὸν φόβον τοῦ βασιλέως, ... ὁδὶα νὰ κάμη θυσίαν τῶν
ψευδωνύμων θεῶν 17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 38.5-7

With Agent Nouns

ἤκουσαν τὰ δικαιώματα ... τοῦ κύρ Μιχέλη Γκελάρδου καὶ κυράτζα Θουμαγῆς ὡς
 κυβερνήτρα τῶν παιδιῶν της 1581, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 46, 43.2-4

ἔπεμψε τὸ παράκλητον Πνεῦμα εἰς τοὺς ἀγίους του μαθητὰς καὶ θεωροὺς τῶν
μυστηρίων του 17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 31.1-2

NOTE

- (i) With certain head nouns, particularly when these are not formally action nouns (i.e. ending in -σις, -ισμός etc.), and also with some adjectives, a prepositional phrase may be used instead of a genitive, sometimes with a slight difference of meaning (cf. *love of X* and *love for X*). Each such lexical item selects a characteristic preposition or set of prepositions:

ἀγάπην εἶχεν ἄπειρον εἰς αὐτὴν ὁ πατὴρ της καὶ ἀπὲ τὴν ἀγάπην τὴν πολλὴν ἦν
πρὸς ἐκείνην εἶχεν 15th-16th c./14th-15th c., *Achil.* N 759-60

ἀπ' ἐκεῖ πάλε ἄρχεψεν ἡ ἔχθρα μὲ τοὺς ἀδελφούς τοῦ ἀντρός της
 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 312.2-3

ἦτονε μαθηματικὴ εἰς τὰ γράμματα πολλὰ καὶ εἰς τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἔμπειρη
 1565-75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 7, 15.7

5.2.2 Partitive Genitives

- (73) Nouns and pronouns denoting a part/subset of a larger whole may take a genitive NP complement denoting the relevant whole.

Other than in very early and archaizing texts, NPs whose heads take a definite partitive complement are themselves normally definite, perhaps reflecting a growing avoidance of combinations of NPs that disagree in definiteness.

αὐτὸς ὁ Εὐλάλιος καὶ ἂν ἔλθῃ καὶ ὁ Χήναρος ἐκεῖνος ... οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν ζωγράφων,
 τοιοῦτον οὐκ ἐξορθῶνουςι 15th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* (Maiuri) 43-5

αἰσχύνονται τοὺς στρατηγοὺς καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ τὸ πλῆθος
 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 120

τὸ πολὺ τῆς ἡδονῆς ἐλαττωμένον εἶχε 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 288

ἐπέθανεν τὸ ἡμισὸν τοῦ νησιῶ 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 60.26-7

NOTES

- (i) Exceptions to the definiteness requirement are rare and early:

τινὲς δὲ τῶν χιρεκάκων ἠνέφεραν τὸν αὐθέντην μου
 ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 80.31

- (ii) A prepositional phrase headed by ἀπό/ἐκ is normally used instead of a genitive when the head is a bare numeral or an indefinite pronoun/quantifier. This allows an indefinite NP to stand in construction with a definite NP without violation of the definiteness constraint:

μίαν ἀπὸ τὰς πρόκριτας εἰς ἣν ἐθάρρει πλέον, παρήγγειλεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τοὺς ὄλους
 νὰ προλάβῃ 12th c. or 13th-14th c., *Eisit.* f.3r.9-12

τὸ πῶς ἡγάπα κ' ἤθελεν κάλλιον νὰ εἶχεν χάσει μίαν ἀπὸ τὰς χῶρες του ἐκ τὰς
καλλιώτερές του 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7085-6

ἔκραξε δύο ἀπὸ τοὺς Ρωμαίους καὶ γράφει τοὺς πιττάκια
 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8319

καὶ εἷς ἐκ τοὺς φιλόσοφους τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἐλάλει 16th c./14th c., *Byz. Il.* 846

πολλοὶ ἀπὸ τοὺς καβαλλάριδες ἀχόρταγοι καὶ πτωχοὶ ἐβάλαν τὰ χέρια τοὺς
 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 82.27-8

δὲ τοῦ ἀβοήθησε τινὰς ἀπὸ τὰ παιδιὰ μου
 1642, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 246, 197.31

κάτι γοῦν ἀπὸ ἐκείνους τοὺς πειράτες, ... ἐπήγασιν τρέχοντας γοργόν
 18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 16.16-19

- (iii) The prepositional phrase construction is also used when expressions of this kind have uniquely identified referents (= "the one of the pair/set of X with some distinguishing property"):

ἔκραξε δύο ἀπὸ τοὺς Ρωμαίους καὶ γράφει τοὺς πιττάκια ὁ ἕνας ἀπὸ αὐτοὺς τὸ
 ἔγραψεν ὅπου ἔξευρεν νὰ γράφῃ 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8319-20

βρεῖ θέλει τρόπον ὁμορφὸν νὰ δῇ νὰ τῇ μιλήσῃ, τὸν ἕνα ἀπὸ τὰς δύο τῶν νὰ
 πάρῃ, ὅποιον ὀρίσῃ 17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Erof.* II.19-20

5.2.3 Clausal Complements

- (74) Many nouns take clausal complements, especially those formally and/or semantically related to verbs with clausal complements (see Chapter 2). The type of complement in any given case is largely determined by the meaning class of the noun in question.

With (τοῦ/διὰ) νὰ

Clausal complements of nouns with meanings related to those of control verbs ("power", "decision", "command", "hope", "promise", "intention" etc.) normally take complements containing subjunctive verb forms marked with νὰ. With some nouns, especially in the "hope"/"promise" domain, there is overlap between νὰ-clauses and clauses introduced by ὅτι/πῶς (see below).

- ἀπόκρισιν τοῦ ἔδωκεν πρόθυμα νὰ τὸ ποιήσῃ 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5677
ἐγὼ σὲ παραδίδω τὴν ἀφεντίαν ὅπου κρατῶ νὰ στήκῃς διὰ τὴν κούρτην, νὰ κρένῃς
γὰρ καὶ νὰ κρατῇς τὸ δίκαιον μετὸν νόμον 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7539–41
ἔχει ἑλπίδα εἰς τὸν Θεὸν πολλὰ νὰ τὸ ἀγαπήσῃ 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8699
μετὰ τοῦτο νὰ ᾔχῃ δμπλεγο νὰ τόνε πάρῃ, σὰν ἀποθάνῃ, νὰ τόνε κηβέψῃ στὸ
ἄνωθεν μοναστήρι καὶ νὰ τόνε μνημονεύῃ
 1610, Crete (Rethymno region), BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 662, 576.11–12

NOTES

- (i) The negative in νά-clauses is μή(ν), though νά may then be omitted (in verse texts often *metri gratia*):

βουλήν ἠπῆρεν μετ' αὐτοῦ τὸ ἐπίλοιπον μή χάσῃ 15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 1024
διδοντας ὄρδενε νὰ μὴν πγιάινῃ τινὰς ἐκεῖ 17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 38.34

- (ii) Νά-clauses complementing verbs may contain the genitive article τοῦ (see 2.2, Rule (26) NOTE (ii)), but this occurs with nouns in only a few examples from the *Chronicle of Morea* where there is a pause or significant gap between the noun and its dependent clause:

ισιάστησαν μετὸ Κουμοῦ εἰς τέτοιες συμφωνίες τοῦ νὰ τοῦ δώσῃ τὸ Κουμοῦ ...
τέσσαρα κάτεργα καλὰ 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 2779–82
ἐποίησε γὰρ ὁ πρίγκιπας τὸ ὁμάτζιον πρὸς τὸν ρῆγα τοῦ νὰ κρατῇ τὸν τόπον
τοῦ ἀπὸ τὸν ρῆγα Κάρλον 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 6477–8

- (iii) Rarely, and chiefly in later texts from Crete and Cyprus, νά-complements may also be preceded by διά, which again tends to be used when there is a gap between a noun and its dependent clause, but this is by no means a requirement:

ἐγδέχεται μαντάτον ἀπὸ τὴν Κύπρον, διά νὰ ᾔρῃ, νὰ τοῦ δώσου τὴν
ἀρχιεπισκοπήν 16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 14.7–8
τὰ στεκάμενα ὅπου ἀγόρασε τοῦ μοναστηρίου ἦτονε ἀφορμή διά νὰ μὴν ἔλθῃ
κακὸς γείτονας εἰς τὸ μοναστήρι 1615, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 6, 175.43–4

Indirect Questions

Nouns with an appropriate meaning may take an indirect question as a complement (see also 2.4). Interrogative phrases in clause-initial position regularly attract the verb (cf. 1.4, Rules (16), (17), (18)), with overt subjects then following.

Indirect questions complementing nouns are less liable to nominalization with τὸ than those with verbs (2.4, Rule (31) NOTE (i)), though the option is common with stereotyped periphrases meaning “consider”/“decide” in which a semantically “light” verb (= “give”, “take”, “make”) is combined with βουλήν as its object.

καὶ τότε δίδουν τὴν βουλήν τὸ ποῦ νὰ πᾶν νὰ κλέψουν 15th c., *Diig. Ven.* 81
χωρὶς νὰ ἔχῃς ἔννοιαν ἵντα νὰ τοὺς πλερώσῃς
 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 22.32–3

- ἐποίησαν βουλήν τί νὰ ποιήσουν εἰς ἐτουτουνούς τοὺς κακοποιούς ἀνθρώπους
 16th c., *Diig. Alex.* E 171.3–4 (Lolos)
ἐποίησεν βουλήν τὸ τί νὰ ποιήσουνε εἰς ἐτουτουνούς τοὺς κακοποιούς ἀνθρώπους
 16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 170.3–4 (Lolos)
ἔπεσεν εἰς λογισμόν μέγα, τὸ πῶς νὰ ποιήσῃ νὰ μὴδὲν ἐντροπιαστῇ
 16th c., *Diig. Alex.* K 361.27–8
με μεγάλη ἔννοια βρίσκομαι πῶς περνᾷ ἡ πανιερότη σου
 1612, Crete (Chania region), CHAIRETI 1969: 4, 171.9–10
λέγοντας πρὸς τὸν βασιλέαν τὴν ἀφορμήν, διατί δὲν τὸν ἐχάλασεν
 17th c., *Vios Aisop.* I 275.37–8

With μή(ν)/μήπως καὶ

In parallel with semantically related verbs (see 2.3), nouns meaning “fear”/“anxiety” etc. may take a complement clause introduced by μή(ν)/μήπως καὶ (with negative οὐ(κ)/(οὐ) δέν). As fear is typically for what may happen in the future, the verb forms attested are overwhelmingly subjunctive, though the particle νά is not normally employed in this inherently modal domain.

The usual integrity of the μή(ν) + verb combination is retained even though the negative here has acquired pseudo-complementizer status; μή(ν) and the verb are therefore adjacent (apart from clitic pronouns), and overt subjects follow.

εἶχεν μέγαν φόβον μή πιάσῃ καὶ τυφλώσῃ τον, εἰς φυλακὴν τὸν βάλῃ καὶ λάβῃ
ἄδικον θάνατον καὶ χάσῃ τὸ κορμί του 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4891–3
ὁ νοῦς μου σ' ἔγνοια μπαίνει, μὴν εἶν' κιανεῖς στὸ σπίτι της καὶ βρίσκεται κρυμμένος
 16th c., CHORTATIS, *Katz.* II.94–5

ἔχοντας ρεσπέτο ..., μήπως καὶ δώσου του κιανένα καιρὸ καμίας λογῆς πείραξῃ
 1603, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 193, 202–203.4–5

With (ὁ)πού

A noun that is *factive* (see 2.1, Rule (24)) may take a complement introduced by (ὁ)πού + indicative. The construction seems to be of relatively recent origin (16th c. onwards): in earlier texts, as well as sometimes also after the 16th c., we find simply ὅτι/πῶς (see immediately below for more examples).

Factive with ὅτι/πῶς

εὐρέθη τὸ ἀληθές, ὅτι ἡ ἐλαία ἐν τῇς μονῆς τοῦ παπᾶ κὺρ Διονυσίου
 1395, Athos, ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ 1968: 8, 76.20
μὰ ἔχει μεγάλη παραπόνεση πῶς δὲ τῇ στέλνει ἡ πανιερότη σου δυὸ λόγια
 1610, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 3, 169.3–4

Factive with (ὁ)πού

τοῦτο ἦτονε μέγα θαῦμα ... ὅπου ἡ κιβωτὸς ... ἐξεβλάστωσεν καὶ ἔκαμε κλωνάρια
καὶ φύλλα καὶ ἄνθη καὶ καρπὸν εὐμορφότατον
 16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 333.27–36

- όπου υπήγεν ὁ Καισαρείας εἰς τὸν Πάπαν, εἶδον δὲν ἤξευρε
16th c., *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* (1572) 179–80
- οἱ Σαρακηνοὶ ... εἶχανε μεγάλην χαρὰ, όπου ἦρθε προφήτης εἰς τὸν τόπον τους
17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 128.13–14
- τὸ ἔχω μεγάλο παράπονο όπου οἱ ἄλλοι πραγματευτάδες ἔλαβαν γραφὴν ἀπὸ
τούς Κοθωναίους στὶς 15 Νοεμβρίου
1696, Kastoria, *MERTZIOS* 1947a: 19, 218.2–5

With *ὅτι*/(τὸ) πὼς

Nouns semantically related to verbs of declaration, belief etc. routinely take complements introduced by *ὅτι*/(τὸ) πὼς with an indicative (negative οὐ(κ)/οὐδέ(ν)) or *νὰ* + subjunctive (negative μή(ν)); the two items are more or less functionally equivalent, though *ὅτι* is more formal/traditional in character and πὼς allows for nominalization.

In the "hope/promise" domain *ὅτι*/πὼς-clauses containing verb forms marked with *νὰ* alternate with bare *νὰ*-clauses (on which see above).

In earlier/more learned texts subjects may come immediately after *ὅτι* and stand directly before the verb; the normal order in a πὼς-clause is complementizer–verb–subject, and *ὅτι*-clauses increasingly follow this pattern in more vernacular texts.

ὅτι

- εὐρέθη τὸ ἀληθές, *ὅτι* ἡ ἐλαία ἐν τῇς μονῆς τοῦ πατῆρ κὺρ Διονυσίου
1395, Athos, *ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΕΣ* 1968: 8, 76.20
- μανδάτον γὰρ τὸν ἤφερα ... *ὅτι* τὴν γῆν ἐφθάσαμεν 15th–16th c./14th c., *Poulol.* 577–8
- ἐθιόρκισέν τον *ὅτι* νὰ μὲν θελήσῃ ποττὲ νὰ ποίσῃ τίτοιον κακόν, *ὅτι* δυὸ
πρωτανιψία νὰ σμικτοῦν 16th c./15th c., *VOUSTR.*, *Chron.* A 34.6–8
- εἶχεν ἐλπίδα *ὅτι* θέλει τοῦ κάμει νὰ ἰδῇ καὶ αὐτὸς κανένα θαῦμα
16th c., *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 374.32–3
- ἀπὸ κεῖ ἐβγήκε ὁ λόγος *ὅτι* ἀπόθανε ὁ σουλτάν Μουράτης καὶ ἐκάθησε βασιλεὺς ὁ
υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ Μπαγιαζίτης 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 29.7–9
- ἀπὸ τότε ἐκάμασι νόμον οἱ Τοῦρκοι *ὅτι* ... νὰ πιάνουσι οἱ καπικῆδες τὰ δύο του
χέρια 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 27.34–5

(τὸ) πὼς

- ἐφέραν του μαντάτον πὼς εἶνε εἰς τὴν Καλοψίδαν
16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 632.33–4
- ἐπῆγεν τὸ μαντάτον εἰς τὸν ρήγαν πὼς ἦρτεν ὁ ἀποστολὲς εἰς τὴν Κῦπρον
16th c./15th c., *VOUSTR.*, *Chron.* A 18.17–18
- δὲ μπορῶ, ... παρὰ ... τὰ πάθη ν' ἀπομένω μ' ἐλπίδα πὼς κιαμιὰ φορὰ ν' ἀλλάξῃ ὁ
λογισμός σου, νὰ μοῦ χαρίσῃ ἀνάπαψη ὁ πόθος ὁ δικός σου
17th c./16th c., *CHORTATIS, Panor.* II.363–6
- καλῶς τὸ πιάσε ἡ χέρα μου τὸ μαρμαρένιο χέρι, κείνο ποῦ ἐλπίδα μοῦ ἔδωκε τὸ πὼς
σὲ κάνω ταίρι 18th c./16th–17th c., *KORNAROS, Erot.* III.1491–2

- ἦλθεν μαντάτο τὸ πὼς ἐχειροτονήθη ἄλλος ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ ἐρχεται· καὶ τότε
ἐβγάλλει ἕνα γράμμα ..., τὸ πὼς μὲ κάθηρες, καὶ νὰ μὴ συνάξω καμίας λογῆς
εἰσόδημα ἀπὸ τὴν ἐπαρχίαν 1622, ?Karpathos, *ZERLENDIS* 1918d: B, 300.6–10
- εἶδον δίδω τῇς βασιλείας σου, πὼς εἰς τὰς δέκα τοῦ Ὀκτωμβρίου μηνὸς ἦλθαμεν
Στοκόλμ 1654, Stockholm (author from Athens), *TCHENTSOVA* 2004: 4, 56.11
- πὼς εἶσθεν ὅλοι σας κουφοὶ μαντάτο πὰ νὰ δώσω 17th c., *KONDAR.*, *Paides* 16

NOTE

- (i) *Ὅτι* is also used to introduce direct speech, particularly in stylistically less ambitious texts/documents:

- ἐφέραν τὸν πατέρα του μνηύματα βαρέα *ὅτι*: "Τινὲς ἀλλογενεῖς τὲς χώρες σου
κουρσεύουν ..." 15th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* L 101–2
- ἐποίησαν βουλὴν *ὅτι* τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον νὰ μὴ τὸν ἔχωμεν εἰς τὸ κάστρον μας
16th c., *Diig. Alex.* E 163.5–6 (Lolos)
- ἐν τῷ ἅμα τοῦ ἔστειλε λόγον *ὅτι*: "Ὁ πατέρας σου σὲ θέλει νὰ σοῦ ὁμιλήσῃ"
17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 29.3–4

With *καὶ*

A formally coordinated *καὶ*-clause may be substituted for a wide range of sentential complements to verbs (see Chapter 2) but is comparatively rare with nouns.

- τοῦτον ἦτον ἡ ἀφορμὴ καὶ ὁργὴ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπῆρσεν ἀπάνω τους
16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 16.12–16
- εὐρέθη ἐκεῖ ὁ ἀμιρὰς ὀνόματι Μεχλὶν Πέχνα, ὅπου ἦτον ἀφορμὴ καὶ ἀρχεῦτην ἡ
μάχη 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 206.27–8
- ἀν ἐπεθάναν ὅλοι οἱ Γενουβίσοι, καὶ θέλει ἔρτειν καιρὸς καὶ ὁ δαρμένος θέλει δέρειν!
16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 208.1–4
- τὰ μαῦρα ἐσύ 'σουν ἀφορμὴ κι' ἐρίξα, σὰ θυμάσαι
17th c./16th c., *CHORTATIS, Katz.* II.359
- ἐκείνη τοῦ ἔδιδε ἀφορμὴ κ' ἤμπαينه σ' ἔτοια κρίση
18th c./16th–17th c., *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.1150

5.3 Adjuncts of Nouns

5.3.1 Genitive Adjuncts

See Rule (69) above.

5.3.2 Articles and Other Determiners

5.3.2.1 Definite NPs and the Definite Article

- (75) The use of a definite NP in LMedG/EMG presupposes that its referent can be uniquely identified within the relevant universe of discourse.

Definiteness may be *semantic* (NPs with inherently unique referents independently of context) or *pragmatic* (NPs whose unique identification depends crucially on the specific context). The definite article is used in LMedG/EMG to mark both semantic and pragmatic definiteness, though its appearance is by no means universal in that definiteness is a given in the former case and may be so strongly invited in the latter as to seem redundant (see below for details).

The article is the initial element of a definite NP (apart from any items proposed for emphasis/contrast), though in a series of conjoined definite NPs, or definite NPs in apposition, it is not uncommon for the first alone to be overtly determined:

- ὁ σελας καὶ σαμαρᾶς χρώνται καὶ οὗτοι ταῦτα καὶ ὅπου δ' ἂν καὶ χρειαστοῦν,
εὐρίσκουν με εἰς δέμαν 15th c./14th c., *Diig. tetr.* 626-7
- ὁ Νικόλας καὶ μαστρ'·Αντρέας καὶ Γεώργης, ἀδελφοὶ Μαρκόπουλοι, ἦρθαν στὴ
παροῦσαν σύβαση καὶ οἱ τρεῖς θεληματικοὶ
1613, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 841, 733.2-3

Semantic Definiteness

The article appears frequently in NPs containing a modifier that confers uniqueness (e.g. "the biggest X", "the one/the other X", "the first etc. X" of a known set), in generic/abstract NPs (e.g. "the truth" as a concept/ideal, "the dog" as a species, "the rich" as a class), in NPs headed by unique reference nouns (e.g. "the sun", "the capital of Italy") and with proper names used referentially; but optionality persists, especially in earlier texts, poetry and those prose genres (mainly legal and religious) shaped by more traditional conventions.

Already by the 9th c., however, articles are used with some regularity to mark semantic definiteness in ordinary vernacular discourse, and by the end of our period the article is well on its way to becoming a conventionalized marker of such inherent definiteness (much as in MG).

- ἐκ νεότητός μου ἐπόθησα τὴν ἐλεημοσύνην 11th c./9th c., *Vios Philaret.* 676-7
- λαβὼν μόνον τοῦτον σὺ ἀπότρεχε, μὴ ἐξαργῇ τὸ ἑτερόν σου βοῖδιν
11th c./9th c., *Vios Philaret.* 124-5
- ὁ διάβολος ... ἐζήλωσεν αὐτὸν ὥς ποτε τὸν Ἰῶβ ... Οὐδὲν γὰρ θαυμαστὸν ἔφησεν ...
ποιήσιν τὸν ἄνδρα ... παρέχων τοῖς πένησιν
11th c./9th c., *Vios Philaret.* 34-9
- τῆς δὲ χήρας αἱ θυγατέρες, ἡ μὲν πρώτη ἡ Μαρία, ἡ δὲ δευτέρα Μυρανθία, ἡ δὲ
τρίτη Εὐανθία 11th c./9th c., *Vios Philaret.* 477-8
- ὡς χριστιανοὶ φοβούμενοι τὸν Θεόν καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, νὰ εἰπῆτε καὶ νὰ κρίνετε ἔσω
στὸ δίκαιο ἀπάνω
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 2359-60
- ὁ δ' Ἀχιλλίος ἀκούσας, ... φέρνει στράτευμα Βουλγάρων
15th c./14th c., *ERMON., Ilias* 3.236-8
- ἀπέθανε καὶ ἡ δέσποινα κυρὰ Ἄννα ἡ ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥωσσίας λοιμῶδει νόσῳ
15th c., *SFRANTZIS, Chron.* 12.22-3
- τοῦ ἡλίου εἶπεν νὰ σταθῇ κ' ἐστάθηκεν στὴν ὥραν
17th c., *KONDAR., Paidēs* 37

The article does, however, remain optional, as noted:

- οὐκ εἶν ... περὶ πίστεως δόγματος 12th c./11th c., *NIKON, Logos* 9 314.7-8
- πόθος γὰρ πόθου στερηθεὶς ὑπομονὴν οὐκ ἔχει
16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 16
- ἀφόντι ἐσώσθη τὸ σπῖτι, ἔκαμαν λογαριασμόν, εἰς ὅσες ἡμέρες ἔκαμαν δουλειὰν καὶ εἰς
ὅσες δὲν ἔκαμεν· καὶ δὲν χρεωστεῖ ἕνας τὸν ἄλλον
post 1427, Unknown, *HUNGER/VOGEL* 1963: 73, 56.3-5
- βασιλεύει ἡλῖος, τὰ δένδρη γὰρ λαλοῦσι, καὶ ἡ φωνὴ τοὺς ἰνδική, δὲν ξεύρω τί μιλοῦσι
16th c., *Alex. Rim.* 2113-14
- ἐτότες εἶδα φανερά νὰ ρίξῃ μὲ μεγάλη σπουδὴ στὸ στήθος μου Ἐρωτας χίλιες σαῖτες
πάλι 17th c./16th c., *CHORTATZIS, Panor.* I.329-30
- ὁ Ἰωάννης ἐβάπτισε μὲ νερόν· ἀμὴ ἐσεῖς θέλετε βαπτισθεῖ μὲ Πνεῦμα Ἅγιον εἰς ὀλίγες
ἡμέρες 17th c., *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath., Praxeis* 1.5

Pragmatic Definiteness

The article is regularly used to mark pragmatic definiteness, e.g. when a NP is used anaphorically (e.g. *She met a man on the train. The man ...*), when a NP is definite through a familiar association (e.g. *She has a new car. The clutch ...*) or when a NP has a restrictive modifier, typically an adjective, appositive NP, genitive or relative clause, suggesting unique identifiability in context (e.g. *The book on the shelf ...*).

- ἦν τις ἄνθρωπος ... τοῦνομα Φιλάρετος, καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἦν εὐγενής
11th c./9th c., *Vios Philaret.* 5-6
- σπόγγισον τὴν τράπεζαν τὴν ἀρχαίαν τὴν ἐλεφάντινον
11th c./9th c., *Vios Philaret.* 408-9
- διέρχεται τοὺς ἐσφραγισμένους τρεῖς μεγάλους δρυῖας ..., ὡσαύτως καὶ τὴν μεγάλην
κουτουλὴν καρέαν, καὶ ἔρχεται εἰς τὴν τριστέλεγγον καρέαν καὶ τὸν ἱστάμενον
πλησίον αὐτῆς δρῦν 1090-4, Athos, *LEFORT et al.* 1990: 45, 164.50-1
- ἔβαλαν οὖν διαλαλητὴν λαγὸν τὸν μεγαλάπτην, ... ἵνα συνάξῃ πάντας καὶ νὰ ἴδωσιν
τοὺς ἀρχοντας τοὺς ἀποκρισιάρχους 15th c./14th c., *Diig. tetr.* 44-6
- ἐν μηνὶ αὐγούστῳ ἀπέθανε καὶ ἡ δέσποινα κυρὰ Ἄννα ἡ ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥωσσίας λοιμῶδει
νόσῳ, καὶ ἐτάφη ἐν τῇ τοῦ Λιβὸς μονῇ 15th c., *SFRANTZIS, Chron.* 12.22-3
- τότε ἐξέβαλεν Φλαβιανὸν ... ὁ ἐπικατάρματος βασιλεὺς καὶ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ χειροτόνησε
Σεβῆρον ... τὸν δὲ Φλαβιανὸν ἐξόρισεν εἰς Πέτρας 15th c., *Hist. Imp.* IIb 641-3
- ἦῤρεν πτωχὸν γέρον εἰς τὰ ὄρη ... καὶ ἀποκαλύφθη τοῦ μοναχοῦ ἡ Θεοτόκος
16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 36. 22-8
- ὁ ἄνωθεν κυρ-Γαλιάτσος δίδει τὴν ἀγγελίαν τοῦ τὴν ἄνωθεν τὴ μαύρη τοῦ ἄνωθεν
κυρ-Γεωργηλά, νὰ σπείρῃ ὀφέτος
1599, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 57, 77.6-7
- τοὺς ἐζήτησε τὸ κάστρο τὴν Φιλαδελφείαν 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 30.12
- λῦσον ταύτην τὴν γραφὴν, διὰ τὴν ἀγάπην τοῦ Θεοῦ
1615, Crete, *CHAIRETI* 1969: 6, 175.59-60

τὸ πρῶτον ψάρι ὅπου ἔβγη, πιάσ' το 17th c., KALLIOUR., *Kaini Diath. Matth.* 17.27
 μου ἔφεραν μαλλί φαγγότα 65 ... * στείλε μου τὸν λογαριασμό
 1696, Albania, MERTZIOS 1947a: 8, 214.3–5

But the anaphoric article may be omitted, especially in more informal genres, as in the following extract from a contract in which "(the) sellers and (the) buyer" have already been introduced by name:

τὸν ἐπέψασι πωλητάδες καὶ ἀγοραστής
 1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 9, 31.10–11

The article marking definiteness by association is also optional, particularly when a series of nouns is linked in this way to an earlier NP:

τοὺς οὐρανοὺς τοὺς θαυμαστοὺς ὥρισεν κ' ἐγενήκαν, ἄστρη, φεγγάρια κ' ἥλιος τότες
 εὐθύς ἐβγήκαν 15th c., CHOUIMNOS, *Kosmog.* 19–20
 κάλλιο νὰ ἦμαι ὑπόδουλος τοῦ βασιλέως, παρὰ ν' ἀρνηθῶ τὴν πίστιν τοῦ θεοῦ μου
 καὶ πιστεύω πατέρα, υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα
 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 22.16–18

And since, in the absence of indications to the contrary, restrictive modifiers strongly promote definite readings of the NPs containing them, the relevant article is frequently omitted as redundant. The optionality persists through our period and is particularly noteworthy for NPs inside prepositional phrases.

ἦν τις ἀνθρώπος ἐν χώρᾳ τῶν Παφλαγόνων 11th c./9th c., Vios *Philaret.* 5
 ἀλλὰ περὶ πράξεως ἐνὶ καὶ ἐγκράτειαν τὴν ἐπαινομένην παρὰ πᾶσαν θεῖαν γραφὴν
 12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 9 314.8–9
 ἔτεκαν παῖδα θαυμαστὸν, τὸν Διγενὴν Ἀκρίτην, φωστήραν τὸν αὐγερινόν, ἥλιον τὸν
 φωσφόρον 15th c./12th c., Dig. E
 ἐτάφη εἰς τὸ πάνσεπτον ναὸν τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου τοῦ Γερακιώτου ἐδῶ εἰς
 πόρταν τὴν βασιλικήν 1387, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 96, 99.3–5
 ἵντσι παρακαλῶ τὴ πανιερότη σου νὰ μοῦ θυμᾶσαι, γι' ἀγάπη τ' ἀφέντη τοῦ
 Χριστοῦ 1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 4, 171.5–6
 θέλω τὰ φορτώσει μὲ πρῶτο καράβι ποὺ νὰ ἔρθη στὸ Δυρράχιο
 1696, Albania, MERTZIOS 1947a: 8, 214.4–5

NOTES

- (i) The most neutral position for an attributive adjective within a definite NP is between the article and the noun (ὁ σοφὸς X), though the option of placing the adjective after the noun with a repeated article is very common (ὁ X ὁ σοφός). The second type, involving "double definiteness" or "determiner spreading", may be used specifically to indicate that the adjective denotes an already familiar property of the relevant entity, thus serving as the main identifier of the referent of the NP:
- τοῦτο ψευδὲς ἐνόμιζον, ὅλως οὐκ ἐδεχόμεν, τὸ λέγουσιν οἱ χωρικοὶ καὶ ὁ λόγος ὁ
 δημῶδης 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 19–20

τὸ μεγαλογράμματον ἱμάτιν τὸ κνηκᾶτον ἢ χάρισον ἢ πώλησον ἢ δὸς ὅπου
 κελεύεις 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* I 60–1
 ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐποίκει νὰ τὸν μάθουσιν τὴν ἀγίαν πίστιν τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴν καθολικὴν
 16th c./15th–16th c., *Fior* 150.15–16

- (ii) Non-agreeing adverbial modifiers may also occupy the two adjectival slots within definite NPs, though the position between article and noun is typical of formulaic expressions in formal/legal discourse ("the above mentioned Mr X" etc.):

ὁ ἀνωθεν κυρ-Γαλιάτσος δίδει τὴν ἀγελέαν τοῦ τὴν ἀνωθεν τὴ μαύρη τοῦ ἀνωθεν
 κυρ-Γεωργηλά, νὰ σπείρη ὀφέτος
 1599, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 57, 77.6–7
 τὸ χωράφι τὸ μέσα ὅπου ἔχουνε φυτεμένο σταφίδα
 1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 15, 39.6

- (iii) The neutral position for genitives within a definite NP is postnominal:

ἄς ἔχη τὸ χαρτί σου (καὶ) τ' ὄνομα τοῦ δικαστοῦ 16th c., *Pist. kekoim.* 493–4
 τὰ μετρητὰ τοῦ πεθεροῦ μου μὲ πρῶτο καράβι ὅπου θέλει ἔρθει νὰ μᾶς τὰ στείλῃς
 1697, Kastoria, MERTZIOS 1947a: 64, 240.4–5

Determiner spreading with genitives, however, is relatively rare, occurring mostly in early/archaizing texts and in verse:

ὁ δ' Ἀχιλλεὺς ἀκούσας, ὁ υἱὸς ὁ τοῦ Πηλέως, φέρνει στράτευμα Βουλγάρων
 15th c./14th c., ERMON., *Ilias* 3.236–8
 τοῦ χρυσοῦ τὸ καθαρὸν τὸ στίλβον τὸ τοῦ κάλλους
 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 179

- (iv) Phrasal modifiers that normally occupy postnominal positions may be fronted before the definite article for emphasis or contrast. Preposed adjectival/adverbial expressions necessarily show determiner spreading, preposed genitives do so comparatively rarely (cf. (i)–(iii) above).

Determiner spreading in preposed/focalized constituents (so called "reverse determiner spreading") is an innovation of LMedG/EMG, indicating a shift in the status of definite postnominal modifiers from clarificatory/appositional adjuncts that automatically followed the head in AG to restrictive modifiers amenable to the rules of focalization in LMedG/EMG:

ἦλθασιν καὶ ἠῤῥασιν τὸ ἐρμηνευθὲν τὸ ρυάκιν 15th c./12th c., Dig. E 78
 ὁ Μέγας ὁ Δεμέστικος ἐπίστεπεν τοῦ Φράγκου 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4971
 εἰς τὴν κλίνην Παλαμῆδους τηνικαῦτα γοῦν τὸν θέτει τὸ τοῦ δόλου τὸ χαρτίον
 15th c./14th c., Epirus, ERMON., *Ilias* 6.216–18
 τὸν τοῦ λουτροῦ τὸν ποταμὸν ὀλόχρυσον ἂν εἴποις
 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 799
 ἐδώκαμεν πρὸς τὸν τιμιότατον κύρ Μιχάλην τὸν Καθολικὸν τὸ ἐν τῇ τοποθεσίᾳ
 τοῦ Σαράβαρη τὸ ἀμπέλιον 14th–15th c., Athos, LEFORT et al. 1995: 95, 147.2–3

ἔχομεν μέγαν κίνδυνον ἀπὸ τὰ κορσάρικα τὰ καράβια

1696, Dyrachion, MERTZIOS 1947a: 7, 214.14–15

βουλὴν ἐποίκασιν οἱ ἀπιστοὶ ... νὰ ἀπεράσουσι στὸν Μορέα, κουρσεύοντας καὶ τοῦ
κόρφου τὲς μεριές

18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 15.12–16

5.3.2.2 Indefinite NPs and Indefinite Determiners

(76) The use of an indefinite NP indicates that the intended referent(s) cannot be identified uniquely in the relevant domain of discourse due to lack of relevant knowledge and/or the necessary contextual information.

Indefiniteness is marked in a variety of ways in LMedG/EMG, as explained below.

Zero Article

Unquantified mass and abstract nouns with existential (i.e. non-generic) meanings standardly appear without an article or other determiner.

τρόμος λοιπὸν κατέλαβε καὶ φόβος τὴν ψυχὴν μου

13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 52

εἶσαι μπάιλος σήμερον καὶ ἔχεις ἐξουσίαν

16th c./14th c., *Chron. Mor.* P 7917

μὲ μεγάλη ἔννοια βρίσκομαι πῶς περνᾷ ἡ πανιερότη σου

1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 4, 171.9–10

φαπτό νὰ φάγη δὲ ζητᾷ μηδὲ πιστὸ γυρεύγει

18th c./16th–17th c., KORNAROS, *Erot.* IV.736

But indefinite NPs in general, both singular and plural, may lack overt determination throughout the period of this Grammar:

εἶχε δὲ καὶ σύμβιον τοῦνομα Θεοσεβοῦν

11th c./9th c., *Vios Philaret.* 16

ἤρχετο πρὸς αὐτὸν προσαιτῆς

11th c./9th c., *Vios Philaret.* 21

ὀρίζει φέρετε ἱατρούς, τὸν δεῖνα καὶ τὸν δεῖνα

14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* IV 564 app. crit. (H)

ἀρχάγγελος τοὺς ἐδιώξε ὡγὰ νὰ καταντήσουν ὀλόγδυμοι, ξυπόλυτοι ἔξω τῆς

παραδείσου

15th c., CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 119–20

νεκροῦ φωνὴν ἐγροίκησα καὶ ὁ νοῦς μου ὀλος ἔχάθην

16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 22

ἔπεψεν δούκαν ὀνόματι Ἰσάκιον

16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 8.38–9

ἤϋρεν πτωχὸν γέρον εἰς τὰ ὄρη Μαραθάσας ὀνόματι Ἰσαῖας

16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 36.22–3

κάτης καὶ ποντικὸς ἐμάχοντα

16th c./?, *Paroim.* H 28

ὀποτα ἔρθη πασάτσο καὶ δὲ μοῦ βαστοῦσι γραφή, μὲ μεγάλη ἔννοια βρίσκομαι πῶς

περνᾷ ἡ πανιερότη σου

1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 4, 171.9–10

ἀπὸ τότε ἐκάμασι νόμον οἱ Τοῦρκοι

17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 27.34

Ἱστορία Γαλαξειδίου ἐβγαλμένη ἀπὸ παλαιὰ χερόγραφα, μεμβράνια, σιζιλία καὶ

χρυσόβουλλα αὐθεντικά

18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 13.1–3

NOTE

- (i) Articles are also regularly absent from predicative NPs, since these do not refer but rather attribute a property to their subjects:

καταβλαττὰς ἂν ἔμαθον καὶ σηκωτῆς ἂν ἦμουν, ὡς σηκωτῆς νὰ ἐδούλευα τὴν

ἄπασαν ἡμέραν

14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* III 181–2

ἦτον δοῦκας Ἀθηνῶν, καλὸς ἀφέντης ἦτον

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7960

ἦτον παρθένος καὶ μετὰ τὴν γέννησιν πάλιν παρθένος ἔμεινεν

16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 329.6–7

ὄθεν ἐγὼ γεννήθηκα ἄνθρωπος χωρὶς μάτια

17th c., PROSOPAS, *Peri tyflou* 103

Τις/τινάς

Singular and plural forms of *τις/τινάς* are used as indefinite pronouns and determiners throughout the period of this Grammar in both positive (= “some(one)”) and negative/affective (= “any(one)”) environments; in fact, affective environments often allow both forms (with subtle differences of meaning) and include interrogative, modal, habitual, conditional, future-referring and imperative sentences, i.e. those involving semantic functions that do not ensure truth.

Singular forms used as determiners are often all but indistinguishable from indefinite articles (= “an X”), plurals from indefinite quantifiers (= “some/any [number of] X”). As a determiner *τις/τινάς* normally precedes the head noun, but may also follow.

The use of *τις/τινάς* in the plural and in positive environments is in decline in the later medieval period, especially in more clearly vernacular texts (see below).

Positive

τινὸς δὲ γεωργοῦ πτωχοῦ ἀροτριῶντος καὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν ἰδίαν χώραν

11th c./9th c., *Vios Philaret.* 81–2

ἵνα ... λάβω τινὰν παραμυθίαν τῆς λύπης

11th c./9th c., *Vios Philaret.* 100–1

τινὲς ἄλλογενεῖς τὲς χώρες του κρουσεύουν

16th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* O 120

διατὶ τινὲς εὐρίσκονται νὰ λέγουν ἄλλα καὶ ἄλλα

15th c., LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 256

εἶχαν τινὰν δουλευτὴν

16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 30.7

ἐγύρευεν τινὰν ἐμπιστὸν ἄνθρωπον νὰ τοῦ τὸ δώσῃ νὰ τῆς τὸ πάρῃ

16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 408. 3–5

ρίκτει σπῖτια ἀρχοντικά ... καὶ ἄλλων πτωχῶν τινάδων

16th c., SKLAVOS, *Symf.* 21–2

τινὲς ἰδιώτες ἔλεγον δένδρον τοῦ ἡλίου τὸ ἓνα καὶ τὸ ἄλλο τὸ ἔλεγον δένδρον τοῦ

φεγγαρίου

16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 335.21–2

ἦτονε τινὰς ἀφέντης καὶ ἐβασίλευεν ἐκεῖ

17th c./16th c., MOREZINOS, *Klini* 42.1–2

Negative/Affective

ὁ κύρ Λούκας νὰ τὸ παραδῶσῃ πρὸς τὸν Ἀνδρέαν χωρὶς λόγου τινὸς ἡ προφάσεως

1446, Chios, MANOUSAKAS 1960: 271.13–14

- ἂν ἔναι τινὰς ὅπου δὲν σὲ ἀκούει ἢ νὰ ποιῇ ἀταξίας
15th c., Thrace, DARROUZÈS 1963: 8, 100.5
- ἂν ἔν' καὶ ἰδῇς πτωχὸν τινὰν καὶ στάμενα νὰ μὴ ἔχη
16th c./15th c., DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 2353
- ἔναι δύσκολον τινὰς νὰ τὸ πιστεύσῃ
16th c./15th c., DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 1685
- διὰ τοῦτον δὲν ἔχω τινὰν ἀγκαρδιακὸν εἰς τὰ πράματά μου παρὰ ἐσέναν
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR. *Chron.*, A 48.5
- ἔφη πρὸς αὐτήν «Ἐχεις μάρτυράς τινας;»
15th–16th c., *Porikol.* I 41–2
- εἰ εἶναι τινὰς ράπτῃς καὶ παίρνει ραπτικά ἀπὸ καλογέρους
1532, Macedonia, DELIALIS 1969: 251.70
- ἂν ὑπάγῃ τινὰς ἀποκρισάρης νὰ φιλήσῃ χέρι, νὰ πιάνουσι οἱ καπικῆδες τὰ δύο τοῦ
χέρια καὶ ἀπὸ κεῖ νὰ τὸ φιλήσῃ
17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 27.34–5
- ὁ ἀδελφός σου ὁ Μουσουλμάνος κάμει πράματα, ὅπου δὲν πρέπει νὰ τὰ κάνῃ τινὰς
βασιλέας
17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 45.7–8
- δύνεται τινὰς ἄνθρωπος νὰ πῇ ὅλην τὴν θάλασσαν;
17th c., *Vios Aisop.* I 267.23

In many vernacular texts from ca. 12th c. onwards τινὰς appears exclusively as a singular form in negative/affective environments with the meaning “any(one)”. In the specific case of negated sentences, AG τις = “any(one)” is required to fall within the scope of sentence negation, i.e. to the right of the negative marker (to the left τις = “some(one) [... not ...]”); by contrast, LMedG/EMG τινὰς in the relevant texts always means “any” whether it precedes or follows the negative marker (i.e. the equivalent of **anyone did not* ... is grammatical with the meaning “no one did ...”).

Pronominal use of τινὰς is more common than use as an indefinite determiner.

τινὰς before a Negative Marker

- κακὸς ἔχθρὸς ἢ φυλακὴ ... μεσίτην οὐ προσδέχεται, φίλον τινὰ οὐκ ἔχει
13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 239–40
- ποτὲ τινὰς οὐκ ἤκουσεν οὐδὲ εἶδε τοιοῦτον πρᾶγμα
15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 369
- ἄλλον τινὰν φοβερισμόν ποσῶς οὐδὲν σᾶς λέγει
15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1373
- κάλλος τινὰν οὐκ ὠφελεῖ, οὐ πλοῦτος, οὐδὲ ἀνδρεία
15th–16th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* N 1916
- ἔσὺ τινὰν ποσῶς οὐδὲν φοβᾶσαι
15th c., LIMEN. *Than. Rod.* 206
- τινὰς ἄνθρωπος δὲν τὴν οἶδεν
16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 401.9
- τινὰς δὲν τὴν ἐγνώρισεν
18th c./16th–17th c., KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.1500
- ἄνθρωπον τινὰν δὲν ἐβλέπανε
17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 111.22–3
- ὅλα τὰ ξυνὰ εἶναι ψυχρά καὶ δυσκοιλία, παύουσι τὴν δίψαν, ἀμὴ θροφὴν τινὰ δὲν
δίδουσι
17th c., LANDOS, *Geopon.* 214.12

Εἷς/ἕνας

The numeral εἷς/ἕνας “one” is increasingly used as an indefinite article to replace the corresponding singular forms of τις/τινὰς, mainly in positive environments; in negative

environments, however, it may not precede the negative marker and the strengthened form κανεῖς/κάνενας is used in this role (see below).

Postnominal positioning is an option only in the oldest texts; otherwise this element almost always precedes the head noun (as expected of numerals).

- ὅμως οὐκ ἔν γωνία μιᾶ εἴτε εἰς μικράν τινὰ πόλιν καὶ οὐδαμινῇ γενομένη
12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 4, 226.3–5
- ἀπάνω εἰς τὴν κορυφὴν τοῦ πύργου ἦτον μία γάτα καὶ κάτω εἰς τὸ θεμέλιον ἕνας
ποντικός
post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 89, 76.1
- εὐρέθη ἐδῶ ... ὡσάν ἕναν πουλὶν εἰς τὸν κάμπον
1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 11, 68.2–3
- τὸ ψῆλος τοῦ νεροῦ ἔχει σημάδι ἕναν καρφὶν εἰς τὸν Ἅγιον Γεώργιον τῶν Ὀρνιθίων
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 60.24
- ἀρχεύγει ἕναν ἔργον
15th–16th c., *Fior* 73.5
- ἦτον ἕνας ὀνόματι Μιχαήλ Δούκας Γλαβᾶς
1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 7, 15.3–4
- σ' ἕνα περβόλι εὐρίσκομαι, ὅς μιὰ τάβλα μαρμαρένια μὲ φαγητὰ πολλῶ λογιῶν
πιτήδεια ὀρδινιασμένα
17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Katz.* III.545–6
- ἔτσι κι ἐκείνη γεῖς καιρὸς θέλει τήνε μερώση
17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Panor.* I.139
- ἐτότες ἐφάνηκε ἕνας καβαλάρης
18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 19.1–2

(Ὁ)κάτις/(ὁ)κάποιος

The positive indefinite pronouns/determiners (ὁ)κάτις/(ὁ)κάποιος “some(one)” are widely used in vernacular texts throughout the period of this Grammar to replace the corresponding uses of τις, both singular and plural; in the singular the meaning may often be very close to that of an indefinite article, as expected.

The two forms are functionally equivalent, and almost always precede the head noun when used as indefinite determiners.

The neuter form (ὁ)κάτι is sometimes used as an indeclinable positive indefinite specifier with nouns of any gender or number.

Despite the convention of printing the prefix ὁ- with a rough breathing, this may have originated as the negative οὐ- (also attested, again printed with a rough breathing) with a shift of meaning in the period before ca. AD 1000 from “not any (random) X” to “some (particular) X”. Prefixless forms become the norm towards the end of the period of this Grammar.

(ὁ)κάτις

- ἂν γίνεται ... ὅτι ὁκάτινες ἄνθρωποι, οὐ ὁκάτινες γυναῖκες παίρνει οὐ κλέπτει τὰς
ὀρνιθὰς μου
15th c./13th c., *Assizes* B 450.23
- ἔλεγε γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς ὅτι ὁκάτις ῥήγας ἦλθεν
15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 2765 app. crit. (A)
- ὁκάτις βασιλεὺς ... πολλὰ πράγματα ἔποιεν
16th c./14th c., *Chron. Mor.* P 882
- ὁκάτι ψιθυρίσματα λαλεῖ καθ' ἑαυτοῦ της
16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1164

- ἂν ἔναι κάτις εὐγενικός καὶ ἔχει τὸ κάλλος ἔμορφον 15th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* L 192
 οὕτως τάχα ἔκαμαν ὀκάτι ψευδογάπη 15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 1979
ὀκάτι φράγκος ἄνθρωπος ... ἦλθεν ἀπὸ τὴν Πούλια 15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 3548–53
 πεῖτε τῆς ὀκάτι καταλόγι 15th c., *LIMEN., Than. Rod.* 36
 ἦρθε ὀκάτις ἀδελφός 15th c., ?Athos, *VASMER* 1922: 180
ὀκάτιν μέγαν εὐγενῆ ... τὸν ἔσφαξεν Ἰάκωβος 16th c./15th c., *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 560–2
 ἂν ἔχω ὀκάτι ὑπομονήν τώρα εἰς τὴν θλίψιν τούτην 16th c./15th c., *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 662
 καὶ γροικῶντα κάτινες καβαλλάριδες πιστοὶ τοῦ ρηγός 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 42.33–4
ὀκάτι λόγος μου ἔσέβη εἰς τὰ ὦτα 16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 210.19 (Lolos)
 ἔσπειρε στὸ χωράφι τῆς διάνοις κατινῶν παρὰνόμων κάποιαν πρόφασιν 16th c., *Pist. kekoim.* 55
 ἐπούλησε τὸ Σάλονα ... εἰς κάτι Φραγγοπαπάδες 18th c., *EFTHYM., Chron. Gal.* 40.17–19
 (ὀ)κάποιος
ὀκάποιος κᾶν γειτόνισσας ρούχον νὰ ἐπαρελύθην 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* III 162
ὀκάποιος βασιλέας ... πολλὰ πράγματα ἔποιε 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 882
οὐκάποια τραγούδια ἐτραγουδοῦσαν 16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 38.9 (Konstantinopoulos)
 ἔστοντας καὶ νὰ ᾔχεν κάποια χωράφια καὶ ἄλλα πράγματα πουλημένα 1605, Crete, *BAKKER/VAN GEMERT* 1987: 344, 323.2
 ἔστοντας καὶ νὰ ἤθελεν ἔχει τὴν διαφορὰν μετὰ τὴν ἀδελφὴν τῶς εἰς κάποια πράγματα 1616, Naxos, *KATSOUROS* 1968: 2, 28.10
 τὴν ὁποῖαν διήγησιν μου εἶπασιν κάποιοι ἄνδρες εὐλαβεῖς ἀπὸ τὴν μέσαν χώραν τῆς Αἰθιοπίας 17th c., *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 30.17–8

Κανείς/κανένας

The negative/affective indefinite pronoun/determiner *κανείς/κανένας* “any(one)” is widely used in vernacular texts to replace the corresponding uses of *τις/τινάς*, but in the singular only; its meaning may often be very close to that of an indefinite article.

The neuter form *τίποτε(ς)* may, however, be used in later texts as an indeclinable negative/affective indefinite modifier with nouns of any gender or number.

These elements almost always precede their head nouns when used as indefinite determiners (a role in which *κανένας* is more usual, though *κανείς* is also attested).

Κανείς/κανένας may again precede or follow the negative marker in negative sentences with the same (negative/affective) meaning in both positions.

κανείς/κανένας

- ... εἰς μαρτυρίαν κανενοῦ πραγμάτου 15th c./13th c., *Assizes B* 334.25
 εἰ δὲ καὶ ἔλθῃ ἀπὸ τὸν τόπον τοῦ κανεῖς ἀνθρώπος 1355, Palatia (Militos), *MANOUSAKAS* 1962b: 1, 234.12

- φόβον κανέναν ἀπὸ σὲν νὰ μὴ ἔχω νὰ με ἀφήσης 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 414 app. crit. (ABEX)
 πούποτε οὐκ ἠκούσθηκεν οἱ Τοῦρκοι νὰ βοηθήσουν κανεῖν ἀφέντην χριστιανόν, εἰ μὴ νὰ τὸν κομπῶνουν 15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 498–9
 δὲν ἐγίνην ἀφορμὴ κανενοῦ κακοῦ 16th c., *Pist. kekoim.* 376
κιαιμῆς λογῆς ἀνάπαψη δὲν ἠῦρισκεν ἡ κόρη 18th c./16th–17th c., *KORNAROS, Erot.* III.14
εἰσὲ κανέναν γκαιρόν ἄ(ν) χαθοῦσιν ἀπὸ καμμιᾶς λογῆς ἀφορμῆν, τινὰς δὲ σοῦ ἀπηλογᾶται 1688, Naxos, *SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al.* 1982/83: 761, 1033.1
 ... χωρὶς νὰ ἀπαντέξῃ καμίαν ἄλλην ἀπόκρισιν 18th c., *Don Kis.* 50.13
 τίποτε(ς)
 ἔάν τις τῶν αὐτόθι ... λέγει τίποτες 12th c./11th c., *NIKON, Logos* 9 151.1–2
 οὐδὲν εἶχεν τίποτες ἐνδειξιν 15th c./13th c., *Assizes B* 361.19
τίποτες πόλεμος οὐδὲν ἔναι 16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 30.23–4 (Konstantinopoulos)
 παρὰ γὰρ νὰ ᾔβρω τίβετσι τρόπο νὰ σοῦ βοηθήσω 17th c./16th c., *CHORTATIS, Erof.* I.114
 ἔχεις τίποτες εὐλογίαν ...; 17th c., Cyprus, *CHRISTODOULOU* 1983: A, 401.27
 ἀπομένουσι τὰ τίποτές τῆς ἀδιόρθωτα 1629, Milos, *PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS* 1990: 14, 10.7
 ἔχω τίβετις πράγμα τῆς Μαρί(ας) 1662, Sifnos, *MERTZIOS* 1958a: 1, 110.140
 ἂν ἰχρεωστοῦσαν τίποτις ροῦχα μιᾶς τῆς ἄλλης 1664, Mykonos, *TOURTOGLOU* 1980/81: 3, 20.14–15
 ἐγὼ θέλω ἔχει τὴν ἔγνοιαν νὰ σὲ στέλνω τίποτε φαγητόν 18th c., *Don Kis.* 144.22

NOTE

- (i) There are a few, relatively early, examples where *κανείς/κανένας* is used to mean simply “one” (or sometimes “a(n)”), apparently independently of whether the context is positive or negative/affective; this is perhaps a residual reflection of a still earlier state of affairs in which *κανείς/κανένας* was no more than a strengthened form of *εἷς/ἕνας* (replacing *τις/τινάς*) in a period before its use came to be polarized through opposition with the positive (ὀ)κάτις/(ὀ)κάποιος:

- ἄς τὸν δοκιμάσωμεν κανεῖς ἀπὸ τοὺς τρεῖς μας 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 1217 app. crit.
 ἀπέτις ἀπεξέβηκαν κανέναν μίλι, δύο 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 1411
 ἔάν ἐνι ὅτι ἐνι εἷς ὀρφανός ἢ ὀρφανή, ἢ κανέναν παιδίον 16th c./13th c., *Assizes A* 29.26
 ἄς τοὺς ἀφήσουμε ὀλιγόν, κανέναν μῆναν πλέον 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 611

Οὐδείς/οὐδένας

In preverbal positions the AG pronoun/determiner *οὐδείς* is an inherently negative quantifier (“no(one)”) used without a following negative marker; in postverbal positions, however,

it is normally used as a strong negative/affective indefinite after a negative marker, i.e. as an emphatic alternative to negative/affective *τις* (= "not ... ANY(one)").

Οὐδείς/οὐδένας persists into LMedG/EMG alongside *κανείς/κανένας*, with its role still determined by its position and the presence/absence of a negative marker. Its use is normally associated with rather higher registers, and it may be misused in more vernacular texts because of the influence of *κανείς/κανένας*, which requires a negative marker whatever its position in a negative sentence. *Μηδείς/μηδένας* is sometimes used in place of *οὐδείς/οὐδένας*, particularly when the verb is in the subjunctive.

Non-traditional Usage

- οὐδείς οὐκ ἔνι ἅπ' ἑμᾶς εἰς ὅλον τὸ φουσσᾶτον* 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 7967
οὐδενεοῦ βασιλέως οὐδὲν ἐφαλτσώσαμεν 16th c., *Diig. Alex.* K 346.24-5

Standard Usage

- οὐδείς ἄνθρωπος* ἔμεινεν μέσα τοῦ κάστρου 15th c./13th-14th c., *Liv.* E 2340
μηδένας τὸ λοιπὸν ἀποῦ σᾶς ... ἀφοραθῇ τοῦτον 16th c., *Pist. kekoim.* 389
 ... δὲν ἔχω *μηδεμιὰ γαζέτα* στὴν ἐξιά μου 17th c./16th c., *CHORTATIS, Katz.* II.194
οὐδένα πρᾶμα ἔκαμα 17th c./16th c., *CHORTATIS, Katz.* II.357
μηδείς οὖν τῶν σοφῶν καταφρονήσῃ τῆς ἀμαθείας μου 17th c., *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 29.6
μὰ μηδένας ἄλλος καραβοκύρης μοῦ τὸ πιστεύγῃ πῶς
 1648, Corfu (author from Crete), Manousakas 1965: 268.9

NOTES

- (i) The normal position of an attributive adjective in an indefinite NP is before the head noun, but the adjective may also follow (without specifiers) if the meaning is essentially predicative and not crucial to distinguishing one class of possible referents from another; in such cases the meaning is typically focal (i.e. "an X [that is] *ADJ*"): *πλάσματα* πάλιν *μυθικά* καὶ λόγους γραϊδίων ἠκριβώσαμεν 13th c./12th c., *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 4-5
 τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν, ἐγένετο *σεισμός μέγας* εἰς ὅλην τὴν Λευκωσίαν 1479, Cyprus, *DARROUZÈS* 1953: 6, 89.1-2
- (ii) The normal position for genitives within an indefinite NP is postnominal, but these may be preposed for contrast or emphasis in the usual way: ἔσυρνε μαζί του 4000 καβελλάρους, ... πληρωμένους *δύων χρονῶν πληρωμή* 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 29.29-30

5.3.2.3 Demonstratives

- (77) LMedG/EMG demonstratives are used both as pronouns (as heads of NPs) and as determiners (in NPs with independent head nouns) and have both deictic and anaphoric functions; as determiners they appear in definite NPs, standing either before the definite article or after the head noun.

The demonstratives of LMedG/EMG fall into two groups according to the (notional) distance from the speaker of the objects/individuals they are used to identify, namely proximal ("this") and distal ("that"); there is no clear evidence of a further division within the proximal group between 1st- and 2nd-person orientation. While both types are also used anaphorically ("the one just mentioned"), only the former is additionally employed cataphorically ("the following"):

"this"

- αὐτός, αὐτός, εὐτός, (ἐ)δαῦτος*
αὐτεῖνος, αὐτοῦνος, αὐτόνος
οὗτος, (ἐ)τοῦτος, (ἐ)δετοῦτος
ὅδε (mostly archaic/official, and often cataphoric in legal texts; mainly neuter)
 **ἐτοῦνος* (only oxytone genitive forms found)

"that"

- ἐκεῖνος, (ἐ)δεκεῖνος* (rare)
 (ἐ)κειός

The postnominal position for demonstratives is less emphatic than the pre-article position and is often, though not always, associated with anaphoric function; NP-initial demonstratives, however, are as likely to be anaphoric as deictic (with the latter probably carrying heavier stress).

NP-Initial

- ἀπ' *ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν* ποιεῖ αὐτὴν ἐλευθέρην καὶ οὐκ ἔχει ἐξουσίαν εἰς αὐτὴν ca. 1300, Cyprus, *MARUHN* 1981: 234.274-5
ἀνὴρ τίς ... ἀνήγειρέ τε ἐκ βάθρ(ων) αὐτ(όν) τ(όν) ναόν ἐξ οἰκ(ων) κόπ(ων) κ(αί) ἀναλωμ(ά)τ(ων) 1365, Serres, *LEFORT* 1973: 27, 162.9
 ἀπ' *αὐτὴν τὴν ἐνθύμησιν* καὶ ἐκ τὴν πολλὴν πικρίαν ἔπεσεν εἰς ἀσθένειαν, ἀπόθανεν εὐθέως 15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 3172-3
 εἶχεν δὲ καὶ ὁ πρῶτος *τούτῃν τὴν συνήθει(αν)* 1501, Athos, *PAVLIKIANOV* 2006: 6, 103.23
 εἰς τὴν Καφοράχῃ *ἐκεῖνους τοὺς τόπους* ὅπου οἱ καλογέροι τοῦ μοναστ(η)ρ(ίου) ἐπιάσαν 1572, Andros, *POLEMIS* 1995a: 8, 129.9
 πῶς εὐρέθης εἰς τοῦτο τὸ ταπεινὸν σπῖτιν *ἐτουνης τῆς γυναικός* 17th c./16th c., *MOREZINOS, Klini* 67.33

Postnominal

- οἱ νηστεῖαις *ταύταις* (nom. pl.) ... ἐπιτρέπονται εἰς τοὺς χριστιανούς 12th c./11th c., *NIKON, Logos* 4 214.1-3
 τὸ δένδρον *ἐκεῖνον* 1146, Sicily, *CUSA* 1868/82: Coll. XIV: 5, 618.30
ἐντὸς τοῦ τέρμενου ἐκεινοῦ ποῦ ἔστησε ὁ Καμπανέσης 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 2118
 ἀφότου ἐσὺ ἀποδέχεσαι νὰ εἶσαι ἀβοκάτος διὰ *τὴν ὑπόθεσιν αὐτὴν* τῆς ντάμα Μαργαρίτας 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7528-9

τάς ἀμοιβάς τῶν πράξεων καὶ τῶν κόπων ἐκείνων νῦν λαμβάνετε
16th c., GLYKYS, *Penth. Than.* 606

ἐδούλευσα τοὺς ἀδυνάτους καὶ τὰ κελία ἐτούτα χρόνους κέ'
16th c., Corfu, KARYDIS/TZIVARA 1994/96: 4, 102.19

NOTES

- (i) Certain other determiners also have secondary anaphoric functions, most importantly τοιοῦτος/(τ)έτοιος "such". These are often used in indefinite NPs ("such [an] X") where they stand before the head, initially in a sequence of adjectival modifiers and normally without an indefinite article in singular NPs (though one is sometimes introduced in later texts):

τοιοῦτον κρίσιμον μέλλει νὰ κριθῇ 15th c./13th c., *Assizes B* 376.11

τέτοιον σκοπὸν ἐχείρισεν νὰ παίζῃ τὸ καλάμιν 14th c./13th–14th c., *Log. parig.* L 216

οὐδὲ εἶδεν το οὐδὲ ἤκουσεν τέτιον πρᾶγμα νὰ γένει 15th c., *Anon. Naupl.* 52

οὐ θέλομεν τέτοιες μυθολογίες 16th c., *Fyll. gadar.* 259

ἐπιθυμῶντας νὰ διορθώσω τέτιον ἀπρεπὲς πρᾶγμα
1693, Corfu, TSITSAS 1978/79: [2], 209.158

ὦ τί μεγάλο κρίμα, ἓνας τοιοῦτος βασιλεὺς νὰ ἔμπη μὲς στὸ μνημα
18th c./17th c., *Diig. Vefa* 125

ἐγὼ κάμνει χρεῖα νὰ βάλω ὅλην μου τὴν δύναμην διὰ νὰ ἀποβάλω μίαν τοιαύτην
ὕβρην 18th c., *Don Kis.* 49.20–1

Given the functional overlap with anaphoric demonstratives, however, these items also appear in definite NPs, though they retain their adjectival position, standing between the article and noun; the definite construction is particularly common in earlier texts and with τοιοῦτος:

ἐπέδειξαν ἡμῖν γεγραμμένον ὅτι τὸ τοιοῦτον μυλοστάσιον ἀγόρακε αὐτὸ
1123, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. X: 1, 471.13

ὥς δὲ τὸ τίτιον μήνυμαν ἦλθεν εἰς τὸν κρατοῦντα ?12th c. or 13th–14th c., *Eisit.* f.7v.1

εἰς τὴν τοιαύτην ὑπόθεσιν ἔχομεν καὶ μέρος τῆς ἐκκλησίας
1337/8, Constantinople, HUNGER et al. 1995: 109, 92.51–2

ἐπεῖν τοῦ ἐφάνηκεν καλὸν εἰς τὸν ἐτέτιον τρόπον 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 3589

θέλοντας γὰρ καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ προειρημ(ε)ν(η) κυρὰ Ζαμπέτ(α) ποιῆσαι ἀνταμοιβὴν
τῶν τ[οι]ούτ(ων) χαρίτων 1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 12, 48.10

τὲς τοιοῦτες γνώμες καὶ τὰ ἦθη ὅπου εἶναι ἐπίβουλα καὶ ὀχι ἀπλὰ πρέπει νὰ τὰ
φεύγομεν ?17th c./16th–17th c., *Theophr. Char.* 120.6

- (ii) Relative pronouns such as ὁ (ὁ)ποιος, ὅστις/ὅτις, ὅσπερ are similarly used as anaphoric pronouns/determiners linking clauses/sentences:

νομίσματα ἑκατὸν τριακονταδύο, ἅπερ νομίσματα ... παρὰ διαφόρων προσώπων
ἐδανεισάμην 1024, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1970: 25, 175.14

τὲς συμφωνίες ὅπου εἶδαμεν ἐνταῦτα' στὲς ὁποῖες ἔνι ἡ βοῦλλα του καὶ ἐμᾶς ὁλῶν
μετ' αὐτοῦ 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 2380–1

ἀνεντρανίζω καὶ θωρῶ θρονὶν τὸ πλουμισμένον, τὸ ποῖον θρονὶν καθέζεται ντοῦζες
τῆς Βενετίας 15th c., *Diig. Ven.* 41–2

τὴν ἀδελφὴν τῆς γυναίκας του εἶχεν τὴν ἓνας παχιάς' οἱ ποῖες ἦτον Κατακουζηνές
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 132.18

ἀφίημι τῷ εἰρημένῳ μοναστηρίῳ καὶ μελίττας σώματα <κε> ..., αἵτινες μελίττες
εἰσὶν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τοῦ κύρ Κωνσταντίου μοναχοῦ
1512, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 34, 59.13–14

Βιβλίον τοῦ ἀγίου καὶ δικαίου Λαζάρου' ὁ ὁποῖος Λάζαρος ἔκαμε τέσσαρες ἡμέρες
εἰς τὸν Ἄδην 1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 11, 19.1

γὰ τὸ ὁποῖο στάρει τὸ ἄνωθεν ὀπλεγάρουνται οἱ ἄνωθεν ἀξαδέλφοι καὶ ἀπομένου
ἐγγυητάδες ἓνας τοῦ ἄλλου τῶν
1600, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 64, 84.14–15

ἐδιάβη καταπάνω τοῦ Καραλούκη καὶ ἐπῆρε του τὴν ἀφεντία τῆς Σουμάκιας ὁ
ὁποῖος Καραλούκης εἶχε φουσάτο 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 30.36–31.1

5.3.3 Relative Clauses

- (78) A relative clause may be used as a restrictive modifier of any NP in order to help identify a particular referent (when the head is singular) or particular subset of referents (when the head is plural).

A restrictive relative clause delimits the potential referent(s) of a NP, cf. *the woman that fell* (as opposed to all those who did not), *the students who worked hard* (as opposed to all those who did not), etc.

In LMedG/EMG a restrictive relative clause may be introduced by the relative pronoun ὅς (more formal/literary) or by the definite article (more vernacular), both of which provide an anaphoric link to the antecedent NP. More frequently, the clause is structurally linked to its antecedent by the complementizer ὅπου/ὁπού/πού (often ἀπού in Crete and Cyprus), an element that doubtless came to be interpreted as fulfilling a similar anaphoric role.

The pronouns (ὁ) (ὁ)ποιος, ὅστις/ὅτις and ὅσπερ are employed comparatively rarely in restrictive relatives, mostly in archaizing/literary and official/legal registers. Neuter ὅ,τι, however, is a strong survivor in vernacular LMedG/EMG in its original sense of "whatever" (see below on headless relatives), while neuter ὅπερ and ἅπερ, reanalysed as indeclinable complementizers on the model of ὅπου/ὁπού/πού, appear frequently with antecedents of any number and gender (sometimes in combination with the definite article in formal/legal texts, especially in early documents from S. Italy; this usually agrees in case with the antecedent, see immediately below).

It is comparatively rare for any of these items to carry grammatical functions within a restrictive relative clause other than subject and direct object; as object of a preposition, or when cases other than the nominative and accusative are required, (ὁ) (ὁ)ποιος is used most often.

The article and the various relative pronouns are fully declinable, agreeing with their head nouns in number and gender, and in principle taking the case associated with their grammatical function within the relative clause (mostly nominative/subject and accusative/direct object). But a relative clause introduced by the definite article is an appositional constituent (i.e. of the form *the thing + the (thing) someone did*) in which the article replicates the case of the antecedent regardless of its grammatical function within the relative clause; to eliminate any potential difficulties, this construction is normally limited to situations in which both antecedent and article would be assigned the same case within their own clauses, making the case agreement required by their appositional relationship unproblematical. The relative pronouns *ὅς* and *ὅσπερ*, however, also regularly agree with ("are attracted to") their antecedents in case, if the case requirements of the main clause and the relative clause differ; by contrast, *(ὁ) (ὁ)ποῖος* shows almost no evidence of attraction and *ὅστις/ὅτις* very little. Case-agreeing relative pronouns are italicized in the excerpts below.

ὅς (mainly early and literary; case attraction to antecedent when there is conflict)

ἐξόρισαν τοὺς βελλάνους ἀπὸ τοῦ Φωκαίου οὓς ἐκατοίκουν εἰς τὴν χώραν
71130–40, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XI: 14, 534.18

ἡλευθέρωνεν ἅπαντας οὓς εἶχεν αἰχμαλώτους 13th–14th c./12th c., *Dig. G II.5*

οὐκέτι τούτων ἔνεκεν δάκνεται τὴν καρδίαν, πάντων ἐπιλαθόμενος ὧν εἶχεν ἐν τῷ
βίῳ 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 107–8

σκότος δὲ πάλιν ἀφεγγές τὸν σκοτασμόν μου κρίνω ὃν ἔχω τότε, βασιλεῦ, ὅταν
ψωμῖν οὐκ ἔχω 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. III* 234

ἀφήκαμεν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὃν ἠύραμεν ἐκεῖσε 15th c./13th–14th c., *Liv. V* 2842

πῶς παραβλέπει τὸν κριτὴν, τὴν φοβερὰν ἡμέραν ἣν μέλλει γὰρ παρίστασθαι τρόμῳ
πολλῷ καὶ φόβῳ 15th–16th c./15th c., *Alfav.* 14 69

ἔστειλά σοι καὶ τὴν γραφὴν ἣν μοι ἐπαρέδωκεν ὁ τῆς Γένουβας φίλος μου
1487, Chios, LEFORT 1981: 12, 71.2–3

τὰ πράγματα ἃ μοι ἐπῆρεν κουρφὰ ἡ Παντοσυλία
1506, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 1, 3.10

εἰπέ ἡμῖν παραβολὰς ἃς οὔτε ἠκούσαμεν οὔτε ἠξεύρομεν 17th c., *Vios Aisop.* D 240.17

Definite Article (vernacular; almost always direct object)

τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τὴν σὲ ἔπεμψα μετὰ τὸν Θεόδωρον 12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 9 314.15

εἰ μὲν τὸν θέλεις κακοποιῆσαι διὰ τὰ σφάλματα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν παρακοὴν τὴν ποιεῖ
πρὸς τὴν ἀγίαν σου βασιλείαν 71130–40, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XI: 14, 535.9–11

οὐκ ἐγνωρίζεις, δέσποτα, τὸν Πρόδρομον τὸν ἔχεις 15th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* (Maiuri) 42

ἐχαρίσαμε τοῦ Γεωργίου ... τὸ κοπέλι τὸ ἔχει εἰς τὴν δούλεψή του ἀπὸ τὸ <ν> χωρίο
μας τῆς Θεομήρου 1468, Nicosia, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 72, 36.1–3

ἐπρουμυτίσεν τοῦ μεγάλου μαστόρου νὰ κρατήσῃ κρυφὰ πᾶσα πρᾶμαν τὸ νὰ
τοῦ ποίσοιεν 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 12.5–7

τὸν Δημήτηρ ... τὸν δουλευτὴν μας ποίσετε τὸ καλλίττερον τὸ νὰ μπορήσῃτε ...,
καὶ πᾶσα χρῆσιν τὴν ἔχει με(ν) τοῦ τὸ κρατήσῃς

16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 412.11–14

τὸ κελίον ... μετὰ τὴν περιοχὴν του ἦγουν μετὰ τὰς ἐλαίας καὶ μετὰ τὸ νερόν τὸ ἤφερεν
ἐκεῖνος ὁ Δανιὴλ ὁ Βούλγαρης 1501, Athos, PAVLIKIANOV 2006: VII, 105.2–3

ἀπὸ ἐκεῖ μίλια γ' εὐρίσκεις τὸ ἀκρωτήριον τὸ λέγουν Ἄρπην
1534, Unknown, TSELIKAS/KOROMILA 2003: A, 53.20

ὅπου/ὅπου/πού (standard vernacular option)

ἄν με ἔποισαν τεχνίτην, ἀπ' αὐτοὺς ὅπου κάμνουσιν τὰ κλαπωτὰ καὶ ζῶσιν, νὰ
ἔμαθα τέχνην κλαπωτὴν καὶ νὰ ἔξουν ἀπ' ἐκείνην 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. III* 89–91

θωρεῖς αὐτὸν τὸν ἄγουρον ποῦ στέκει εἰς τὸ λιθάριον 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 1507

εἶπε τὸν διὰ τίποτε λογάριον ὅπου νὰ χρήζῃ, μετ' αὐτὸ φουσσᾶτα νὰ ρογέψῃ
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4563–4

παρακαλῶ κι ὀρίζω σε ... τὸν τόπον ὅπου ἐκέρδισα ἐδῶ εἰς τὸν Μορέαν νὰ
παραλάβῃς καὶ κρατῇς, διὰ ἔμην νὰ τὸν φυλάττῃς 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1874–6

τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἑκατὸν δουκάτα τὸν μῆνα ... νὰ ἐξοδιάζωνται εἰς τινας ἄρχοντας καὶ
καλὰ πρόσωπα ὅπου νὰ εἶναι κοντὰ των 1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 285.6–9

τ' ἀμπέλιν ποῦ ἐγόρασα (1528, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 113, 224.40)

ἦλθαν καὶ οἱ βοσκοὶ ὅπου ἔβοσκαν τὰ πρόβατα ἐκεῖ τὸ γύρο καὶ λέγουν ὅτι ἡμεῖς
εἶδαμεν πλήθος ἀγγέλων ὅπου εὐχαριστοῦσαν τὸν Θεόν
16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 331.28–31

ἔγραφα τῆς πανιερότη σου ... τὰ βάσανα ὅπου ἦρθε καὶ ἔκαμην τῇ ὁ καλὸς
καλόγερος 1610, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 3, 169.6–7

αὐτὸ σὲ τὸ εἶπα ... ἀπὸ τὴν πρώτην βαλανιδιὰν ὅπου νὰ εὕρω, νὰ κόψω καὶ ἐγὼ
ἓνα μεγάλο κλαδί 18th c., *Don Kis.* 46.36–47.1–2

ἀπού (in texts from Crete/Cyprus)

ἔλα εἰς αὐτόν μου, κ' ἐγὼ νὰ σοῦ δώσω θησαυρόν ἀπού νὰ μὲν σὲ λείψῃ
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 62.33–4

μετὰ καιρὸν φτάνει εἰς τὴν χώραν ἐκεῖνη ἀπού ἦτονε ὁ ἄρχων ἀπού τὴν πύρεν εἰς τὴν
ἐρημίαν ... καί, ὁδὶα τὸ κρίμα ἀπού ἦκαμεν, τοῦ ἠδωκεν ὁ Θεὸς μίαν λέπραν
17th c./16th c., MOREZINOS, *Klini* 56.18–21

μιά ψυχὴ ἀπού εὐρίσκεται τοῦ πόθου ἀρρωστημένη, σφαίνει τσι πιλιότερες φορὲς
καὶ μένει κομπωμένη 17th c., TROILOS, *Rodol.* IV.163–4

(ὁ) (ὁ)ποῖος (restrictive use limited, mainly formal/legal; no case attraction)

ὁμοίως καὶ τὴν ποσότην ἣ ποία ὑπάρχει ἐν τῷ ἡμετέρῳ κράτει
1257, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 33, 457.17

ἐκεῖνος ἦ ἐκείνη τοῦ ποιοῦ ἐνὶ ἐγγυητῇ 16th c./13th c., *Assizes A* 70.10

ἔξω ἀπὸ τὰ ἰδ' μιζούρια τὸ κριθάριον τὰ ποῖα τοῦ θέλει ὁ Μαυρομάτης
1327, Crete, LAIOU 1982: 1, 123.6

τὰ πράγμ(ατα) ὁποῖ(α) θέλομεν π(α)ραλάβει

1398, Corfu, ASONITIS 1993: 1 [A], 19.14

ἐβάσταινε σκουτάρι στὸ ὁποῖον τὰ βασίλεια τοῦ Νερέου ἐφαίνετον

15th–16th c./15th c., *Theseid* VI.48,2 (Olsen)

τὴν ὑποταγὴν παιδικὴν εἰς τὴν ποίαν ἔως τῶρα ἔμεν ὑποτάσσεσθε

1446, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1964: 17, 98.4

φλωρία χρυσᾶ ὅποια ἔδωσα

1473, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 57, 177.8–9

περὶ τινὰ κάστρο καὶ τόπους τὰ ὅποια ἐπῆρε ὁ σκλάβος μου

1480, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 9, 313.8

περὶ τὸν σκλάβον σου ... τὸν ποῖον ἤκουσεν ἡ αυθεντία σου

1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 10, 65.3

εἶπασιν Μαστόρου πρᾶμαν τὸ ποῖον δὲν τοῦ ἄρσεν 16th c., ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 2133

ὑπέρπυρα ἐξήντα τὰ ὅπγια εἶναι ρέστος 1623, Crete, ΧΑΝΘΟΥΔΙΔΙΣ 1912: 47, 126.6

NOTE

- (i) In some cases where the article is absent the ancient meaning “such as” may be intended:

διαφυλασσόντων τὰς πατρικὰς ἡμῶν ... παραδόσεις ὁποίας παρελάβομεν παρὰ
τε τῶν οἰκουμενικῶν ἐπτὰ ἁγίων συνόδων

13th c., Constantinople, DARROUZÈS/LAURENT 1976: 1, 191.4–5, 13 C

ὅστις/δτις (rare in restrictive use, mainly formal/legal; little case attraction)

ἐνάντιον τοῦ σιγιλλίου τῆς ἐλευθέρως χρυσοβούλλης οὐτινος ἐποίησεν αὐτοῖς ὁ

μακαριώτατος κόμης Ρογέριος 1171, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 21, 422.14

πᾶς ὅστις ἐτύγχανεν εἰς τὴν χαρὰν ἐκείνην

13th–14th c./12th c., *Dig.* G IV.836

τὰς παρούσας γραφὰς αἵτινες ἀνάγονται εἰς τὴν ἀντίληψίν σου

1487, Chios, LEFORT 1981: 12, 71.3–4

περὶ τῶν βελανιδίων ἅτινα ὑπῆρχον ἀγορασμένα με σολδία τοῦ εἰρημένου

Σβηροῦ 1606, Nauplion, BROUSKARI 1982: 1, 174.16

ὅσπερ (formal/legal and literary; case attraction to antecedent when there is conflict)

τῶν δυσχερῶν ἀπάλλαξον σοφῶν μηχανημάτων ὧνπερ κατεῖπον ἄνωθεν

14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* IV 661–2

εἰς τὸ τῆς Καλαμαρίας θέμα περὶ τὴν τοποθεσίαν ἥπερ οὕτω πως τοῦ

Διαβολοκάμπου ἐπονομάζεται 1324, Thessaloniki, LEFORT et al. 1994: 80, 284.3

διὰ νὰ ἀπανταῖνη τοὺς πολλοὺς κόλπους οὕσπερ ἐκροῦσαν

15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 10306

τὸν τόπον ὅνπερ εἶχασιν συνήθως τὸ νὰ βλέπουν

16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1239

ἐπανέστρεψα εἰς τὴν Πάτραν ... ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑπερβάλλοντος τῆς θαλάσσης κακοῦ

οὕπερ καθ' ὁδὸν ἡμᾶς συνήνησεν 16th c./15th c., SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 146.15

περὶ τὴν ὑπόθ(ε)σιν τ(οῦ) ὀσπιτ(ίου) οὕπερ ἔχει διαφορ(άν) με τ(όν) κυρ

Δημήτρ(ιον)

1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 11, 47.7

τῆς ἀγάπης ἥσπερ διὰ τὴν τῶν εὐσεβῶν εὐφροσύνην καὶ παραμυθίαν ... ἐπόνησα

17th c., IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali Prol.* 53

ὅπερ/ἄπερ without Article (vernacular, gender-indifferent)

προστάσσω ... ἵνα μὴ ἔχῃς ἐξουσίαν εἰς τὴν τοιαύτην μονὴν ..., μὴδὲ εἰς τὰ

μετόχια αὐτῆς ἄπερ διεκρατήσα

1102, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 16, 210.38–40

ἡμέτερον ἐρημοάμπελον ὅπερ ἔχομεν

1201, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 253, 344.15

τί ἐνι τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὅπερ λέγεις;

1337/8, Constantinople, HUNGER et al. 1995: 109, 92.57–8

εὐχαριστᾷ τον διὰ τὴν τιμὴν καὶ ἔπαινος ὅπερ τοῦ ἐμαρτύρα

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1888–9

ἐνταῦτα ἡῦρασιν ἐκεῖ ἐγγράφως τὸ κεφάλαιον, ὅπερ γράφει λεπτομερῶς, ... τὸ

πῶς ὁ λίζιος ἄνθρωπος χρεωστεῖ ποιῆσαι τοῦτο 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7569–71

οὐδὲ τὴν τολμηρὴν καρδίαν, τὴν τόλμην ὅπερ εἶχεν

15th–16th c./15th c., *Theseid* VI.31,5 (Olsen)

τὰ σεντούκια, ὅπερ με ἀπέστειλες

16th c., *Diig. Alex.* E 155.21 (Lolos)

εἶδα τὰς γραφὰς ἄπερ ἔστειλες τοῦ κύρ Μανόλη Μυτιληναίου

1567, Venice, PATRINELIS 1992: 5, 305.3

ὅπερ/ἄπερ with Article (rare, mainly early S. Italian; legal/formal)

τὴν ἀλλαγὴν τὴν ἄπερ ἔχω με τὸν καθ(η)γούμ(ενον) κύ(ρ) Κλήμ(εντα)

1060–1, S. Italy, GUILLLOU 1967: 4, 58.18

ἅπασαν τὴν ἐμὴν ὑπόστ(ασιν) τὴν ὅπερ κτῶμ(αι) εἰς χωρίον Κουρτζάνου

1155, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 25, 148.5

τὴν φυτί(αν) τὴν ἄπερ ἔχω εἰς ἐνφύτευσιν ἐκ τὸν Νικηφόρον Τητάν(η)

1197–8, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 42, 217.13

ἐπούλησα τὸ χωράφι τὸ ὅπερ εἶχα

1552, Athens, KAMBOUROGLOU 1889: 179.3

τὴν διαφορὰν τὴν ὅπερ ἔχουν

1569, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 1999: 28, 394.5

NOTES

- (i) In relative clauses containing a verb form marked with νά (often equivalent to English infinitival relatives of the type *someone to do something*), it is common for the relative marker to be omitted; νά always then stands initially:

ἀφότου ὀρέγεται (ὁ πρίγκιπας) νὰ ποιήσουσιν ἀγάπην νὰ ἐνι στερέα κι

ἀδόλιευτος

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8695–6

δὲν εἶναι τῶρα κανένας νὰ κατοικῇ οὔτε εἰς τὴν Βασιλείαν τῶν Οὐρανῶν οὔτε εἰς

τὴν Κόλασιν

16th c., PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 111.2–3

γιατί ... δὲ βρίσκεται θεριὸ μὴδεκιανένα νὰ μὴδὲν κλάψῃ ἀπὸ καρδιάς περίσσα

λυπημένα

17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Punor.* I.63–4

ἀκομή τὰ χωράφια τῇ Μονολέας νὰ πᾶσι ὡς τὸ Μόλο, μουζούρια ἰ

1612, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 779, 677.37

- (ii) When the antecedent NP contains an overt universal quantifier (= "all", "every" etc.), *ὅσος* "as much/many as" may be substituted as the relative pronoun; *ὅσος* naturally imparts a quantified meaning to the antecedent even in the absence of a universal quantifier ("the X as much as ..." = "all (of) the X that ..."):

πάντα ὅσα ἔδωκεν ὁ ἀγοραστής νὰ τὰ χάση 15th c./13th c., *Assizes B* 292.2

νὰ τοὺς ἔχης πληρώσει τὴν ρόγαν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν ὅσην χρεωστῇ νὰ ἔχουν
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5165–6

οἱ ἄρχοντες ὅσοι ἔχουσιν τιμάρια 1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.24

ἀλίμονον, Ροδίτες μου, καλὰ παλικάρῳκα, καὶ ξένοι ὅσοι ἐχάθητε, Ρωμαῖοι καὶ
Φραγκῳκα 16th c./15th c., LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 38–9

ἔδωσε πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅλον τὸν τόπ(ον) τὸν ἄδειον ὅσος ἠβρίσκει(αι) ἔσωθεν τῶν
ἀμπελ(ίων) 1502, Corfu, PANDAZI 2007: 48, 39.4

- (iii) The relative *ὅποιος* "whoever", normally used in headless relatives (see Rule (80)), is sometimes used in the same way as *ὅσος*:

χαρὰ ᾗ τσι ὅποιοι δάκρυα χύσου γιὰ τὴ Μαρία
16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 3966

- (iv) Relative elements such as *ὅσος* "(as much) as" and *οἷος* "(of such a kind) as" are used with demonstrative partners to make "correlative" comparisons of the type "so much ... as ...", "of such a kind ... as ..."; in the former case, the elements are often reversed ("as much as/to the extent that X ..., this much/to that extent Y"):

τόσος/ὅσος

ὅσον εἶναι πλείονες καὶ ἐλαφρότεροι, ... τόσον θέλει εἶσθαι κάλλιον
1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 287.1–3

ὅσον ἔναι ψηλότερος, τόσον τὸν τάσσει ὀλίγα 16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 82

τέτοιος/οἷος

χαρὰν ποτέ, ἀγάπην ἢ φιλίαν, με ἄνθρωπον οὐ μὴ ἀποκτήσω <ἐγὼ> τέτοιαν οἷαν
μετ' ἐσένα 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 4266

οὕτως τὸν εὐρήκασι τίτοιον οἷον ἠθέλαν 15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 2697

- (79) A relative clause may be used as a non-restrictive (appositive) modifier to add relevant information that is not specifically intended to help the hearer/reader identify the referent.

Such relative clauses are normally demarcated by a pause (reflected in writing by the use of a comma) and contain one of the relative markers also used in restrictive relative clauses (see Rule (78)); they may be used to modify NPs or complete sentences, in which case we may understand a vague antecedent, as in *the students, who (by the way) had*

worked hard, left early; she passed first time, (something) which gave her family great pleasure.

The most common relative markers/pronouns in non-restrictive relative clauses are *ὅπου/πού* (regular) and *(ὁ) (ὁ)ποῖος* (more formal/literary), though all options are in principle available, including the absence of any overt relativizing element in clauses containing verb forms marked with *νὰ*; *(ὁ) (ὁ)ποῖος* is the regular choice as object of a preposition, or when cases other than nominative and accusative are required.

Non-restrictive relative clauses introduced by *ὅπου/πού* and other indeclinable elements may include a resumptive object clitic pronoun in the relativized position, referring back to the antecedent and agreeing with it in number and gender (of the form *the man, that I saw him, ...*); this is regular when the relative clause modifies a sentence. This option also occurs, albeit more rarely, with *(ὁ) (ὁ)ποῖος*, mainly in later texts.

Modifying a NP

πουλῶντα τὸ ἡμέτερον ἀμπέλιον, τὸ ὄντα καὶ διακείμενον εἰς χωρίον Καλαβρόν, τὸ
ἄπερ ἔχομεν ἐκ τὸν ἐμὸν πεθερόν 1179, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 193, 254.7–10

ὡς εἶδασιν παράνομα, τὰ ποῖα οὐδὲν ἐλπίζαν, εἰς θλίψιν ἐσεβήκασιν καὶ κάθονται
καὶ κλαίουν 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 88–9

ἐγὼ εἶμαι ὁ Χρόνος, ἀδελφέ, τὸν ὑποτάσσει ἡ Τύχη
14th c./13th–14th c., *Log. parig.* L 106

συναπαντῶ πραγματευτὴν ... ἄλογα νὰ ἔχη περισσὰ καὶ ἀνθρώπους μετ' ἐκείνον
καὶ γραίαν γυναῖκα, ... νὰ κάθεται εἰς καμήλιν 15th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* V 2314–16

στὸν χρόνον ἐκείνον καὶ καιρόν, ὅπου σὲ ἀφηγήθην ἐδῶ ... ὅταν ὁ δοῦκας Ἀθηνῶν ...
εὗρεν ὅτι ὁ πρίγκιπας ἐκείνος ὁ Γυλιᾶμος ἐπιάστη ... καὶ ἦτον εἰς τὴν Πόλιν, ἄπερ
τὸν ἐκράτει ὁ βασιλέας εἰς φυλακὴν του 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7964–9

ἔποικαν ἀμφοτέροι τὸ ἀντρόγυνον ἐκεῖνο υἱόν, ... ὅστις γὰρ μετὰ τὴν θαντὴν ἐκείνου
τοῦ πατρός του ἔζησεν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7974–7

ἀπεράσαμεν εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον, ὅπου ὁ Τοῦρκος ἀκόμα δὲν τὴν εἶχε
19th c./15th–16th c., *Chron. Theod.* 20.4–5

ἐπαρακάλεσέ μας νὰ κάμωμεν τὴν παροῦσαν αὐτῆς διαθήκην καὶ τελευταίαν
παραγγελίαν, μὲ τὴν ὁποῖαν κόφτει καὶ ἀφανίζει κάθε ἄλλην καὶ ἄλλες πού ἔχει
παρέμπροσθεν ταύτης γινωμένες 1596, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 1, 164.9

εἰς ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρόν ἦσαν δυο δένδρα, ὅπου τὰ λέγουν ἐμπρίονοι εἰς ἐκείνην τὴν
γλώσσαν 16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 335.19–20

ἐγὼ, π' ἀκόμη τίβοτας δὲν εἶχα φαγωμένα, ἀγάλι ἀγάλι ἐσάλευγα με χεῖλη πρικαμένα
17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Katz.* III.67–8

ἐδιάβη καταπάνω τοῦ Ἀλεξάντρου ἀφεντὸς τῆς Ἀρμενίας, χριστιανόν, τὸν ὁποῖον
τὸν ἐλέγασιν καὶ Σκεντέρη 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 30.22–4

ἐξῆλθε διὰ νὰ κυνηγήσῃ με τοὺς συνηθισμένους του καβαλάρους, ἀπὸ τοὺς ὁποῖους
ἦτον ἕνας καὶ ἐτοῦτος ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἄνδρας 17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 39.29–31

τῇ γραφῇ τῆς ἐκλαμπρότητός σου ἐλάβαμε ..., τὴν ὁποία ἐδιαβάσαμε τῆνε, ὡς
ἔπρεπε, τοῦ δεσπότη καὶ ὁλονοῦ τοῦ λαοῦ 1665, Mani, BLANKEN 1951: VIII, 305.5

Modifying a Sentence

ἡ νύκτα ἐκαλοφόρεσεν, τὸ δὲν ἐποῖκεν [ἡ] ἄλλη 16th c./15th c., BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 342

ἐξαίφνης ἐδιάρβη, ὁποῦ δὲν τὸ ὠλπίζανε 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 25.2

οἱ σαῖττες καὶ τὰ τόξα τοῦ θανάτου εἶν' πολλὰ καὶ καιρὸν δὲν διορίζουν, ποῦ τὸ
ξεύρομεν καλά 17th c., *Charon* II 13-14

- (80) "Headless" relative clauses, i.e. those lacking an overt antecedent, normally have a generic/universal meaning ("whoever/whatever" or "any/every X that"); they are introduced by ὅπου/ὁποῦ/ποῦ or by relative pronouns/specifiers with an inherently generic/universal sense, namely ὅσος (cf. Rule (78) NOTE (ii)) and ὅποιος/ὅ,τι.

By contrast, forms of the definite article are regularly used with a *specific* meaning in headless relatives = "the (specific) X that".

In the absence of an antecedent NP the relative marker combines the functions of both antecedent (in the main clause) and relativizer (in the relative clause), leading potentially to conflicting case assignments for inflected forms; when this occurs, the case requirements of the relative clause typically predominate (examples are italicized below, though nominative/accusative clashes involving neuters are, of course, "invisible").

Some relative elements used in headless relatives can also be used as specifiers, as in [*whichever book he read*] *was soon forgotten*. NPs with relative specifiers similarly fulfil two grammatical functions, and the requirements of the relative clause again predominate in the event of case conflict.

Article (definite/specific)

τοῦτο ψευδὲς ἐνόμιζον ..., τὸ λέγουσιν οἱ χωρικοὶ καὶ ὁ λόγος ὁ δημώδης
13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 18-19

λέγω τὰ οὐκ ἐνδέχονται καὶ τὰ με οὐδὲν ὁρμόζουν; 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 294

οὐ θέλουσιν ὑπόδησιν τοὺς ἔχω μετ' ἐμένα; 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* II 32

τὴν ἤθελες καὶ ὠρέγῃς νὰ κερδήσῃς, ... νὰ τὴν ἰδῇς μετὰ θ(εὸ)ν εἰς ὀλίγας ἡμέρας
?12th c. or 13th-14th c., *Eisit.* f.1v.7-14

τὴν ἐκρατοῦμεν ἄγαμον εὐρέθη ἐγγαστρωμένη 13th-14th c./?, *Paroim.* D 119

περὶ νὰ ὑπᾶμε εἰς τὴν Συρίαν, τὰ οὐκ ἔχομεν γυρεῦει, ἐνταῦτα στρέμμα ἄς
ποιήσωμεν ἀπέσω εἰς τὴν Πόλιν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 837-8

τί ἔναι, σκύλε, τὰ λαλεῖς, τί ἐν τὸ τζαμπουνίζεις;
15th c./14th c., *Diig. tetr.* 199 app. crit. (CLA)

γυνὴ τις γραῦς ὑπόσχεται νὰ δώσῃ ... καὶ κουφισμὸν εἰς τὸ πονεῖς καὶ λύσιν εἰς τὸ
πάσχεις 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1108-9

τὸν ἀγαπᾷς εὐρέθηκεν, ἀνέστη τὸν ἐξεύρεις
16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1686

τὸν κόσμον νὰ λυτρώνουμουν παρὰ τὰ βλέπω τώρα 16th c./14th c., *Byz. Il.* 262

ἄμποτε τὸ μᾶς ἔταξαν νὰ τὸ φυλάξωσι τελείως 1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 285.20

τὰ ῥίξεις προσκυνῶ καὶ θέλω νὰ τὰ ποίσω 16th c./15th c., FALIEROS, *Thrinios* 119

ἀπὸ τὸ μου λαλεῖτε, πὼς ἐπήγα εἰς τὴν αὐλήν τῆς ἀφεντίας τῆς
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 60, 62.18

τὸ ζητᾷ γιὰ γιαιτρικόν, ἐκεῖνο τότε βλάφτει 18th c./16th-17th c., KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.6

ὅπου/ὁποῦ

ὁποῦ θέλει νὰ ἐλθῇ ἄς ἐλθῇ μετὰ μέναν 15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 554

ἡῦρασιν ὅτι εἶχαν πλέον κερδίσει παρὰ ὁπου εἶχαν στὰ κάτεργα
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 650-1

μὰ νὰ ᾖναι ἀσυγχώρετος ὁποῦ θε σέ πατάξει 15th c., CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 206

ὁποῦ ἔχει πολὺν πιπέρη βάνει καὶ ᾖ τὰ λάχανα 16th c./?, *Paroim.* H 32

καλότυχος ποῦ μεριμνᾷ πάντα τὸν θάνατόν του
17th c., MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 1345

ὁποῦ θυμᾶται θάνατον, ἐκεῖνος κυριεύει 17th c., MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 1349

ὅσος (used as both pronoun and specifier)

ἀπὸ ὅσοι ἐναπέμειναν ἀπ' αὐτοὺς, ... ἀεννάως τοὺς ἔπαιρνε μετ' αὐτόν
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7209-11

ὀρκῶ σε κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ..., ἐσὲν κι ὅσοι καθεζονται μετὰ σέ ἐδῶ εἰς τὴν κούρτην
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7543-4

ὥσπερ ἔναι ἡ συνήθεια νὰ πιάσει τὴν λεχώναν καὶ νὰ κάμει ὅσα εἶναι τῆς φύσεως
τῶν γυναικῶν 16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 329.34-5

τὸν ποιητὴν πάσης κτίσεως καὶ ἐλευθερωτὴν τῶν ψυχῶν πάντων τῶν ὀρθοδόξων
χριστιανῶν καὶ ὅσοι πιστεύσουν εἰς αὐτόν
16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 331.14-15

γι' αὐτὸς λολοῖ ᾖναι ὅσοι θαρροῦ ... νὰ κάμουν τὴ χέρα μου νὰ μὴ μπορᾷ
τελειώσει 17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Erof. Prol.* 34

ὅσοι Ρωμιότουρκοι ἐγροίκησαν τὸν ἀβγαμό μου παρευθὺς ἔτρεξαν σιμά μου
1660, Crete, KARATHANASIS 1973: 2, 27.13

ὅσα παιδιά ᾖναι διαλεκτὰ εἰς μιὰ μεριά ᾖ τὰ βάνη 17th c., KONDAR., *Paidēs* 171

ὅποιος/ὅ,τι (used as both pronoun and specifier)

ἀπὸ τοὺς μῆνας δώδεκα νὰ ἐπαίρνη ὅποιους θέλει 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 2004

ὅ,τι ἡῦραν πράγματα ἐκεῖ ἐδιαγοῦμισάν τα 15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 1306

ὅποια ἀπ' ἐσᾶς βάλῃ ἀρχὴν νὰ με δείρῃ ἔναι ἡ μεγαλύτερη πολιτικὴ καὶ πούτᾶνα
τοῦ κόσμου 15th-16th c./?15th c., VIOS AISOP. E 292.34

ὅποια βλέπη νὰ δειλιᾷ δίδει παρηγορία 15th-16th c./15th c., *Theseid* I.90,8 (Follieri)

ὅποιον σου δείξω σκότωσε 16th c./15th c., PIKAT., *Rima thrin.* 383

ὅποιος αὐτὰ ὀρέγεται δουλῶνεται καθόλου 16th c./15th c., FALIEROS, *Log. did.* 111

ὅποια εὐρεθῇ, νὰ τὴν ξορίζουν ἔξω τῆς χώρας! 16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 178.6
 εἰς ὦραν ὑπανδρείας αὐτῆς ὅ,τι τῶς φανῇ νὰ τῆς δώσουν διὰ προικίον νὰ τῆς
 δίδουν ἀπ' αὐτὰ, καὶ ὅ,τι τῶν φανῇ νὰ πουλήσουν νὰ τὰ κάνουν στάμενα
 1527, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 120, 217.26

κάμε ὅ,τι θές 17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, *Katz.* III.267
 ἀκόμη ἀφήνει τῆς Καντιῶς ὅ,τι μερτικό τοῦ ἐγγίλει στὸ χωράφι τῆς Κουκουβάγιας
 1613, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 9, 311.22

εἰς ὅποιον τόπον ἐσεῖς θέλετε ὑπάγει, εὐρίσκει σας 17th c., *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 11–12
ὅποιος ἀγαπᾷ ἐμένα ζῶντ(ας) μου, ἔνα τους παρακαλῶ ν' ἀγαποῦσι τὴν μάνα μου
 καὶ τὰ παιδιὰ μου δέκα 1662, Sifnos, MERTZIOS 1958a: 1, 110.144–5
 νὰ εἶναι διαλέγονας ὁ Μανώλης νὰ παίρνῃ ὅποια πᾶρτην θέλει
 1682, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 257, 449.23

6 Prepositions and Prepositional Phrases

6.1 Simple Prepositional Phrases

(81) LMedG/EMG prepositions normally govern an accusative NP to form a Prepositional Phrase (PP); clitic (personal) pronouns are sometimes permitted in the earliest texts (e.g. ἀνταπεκρίνατο πρὸς με ὁ ὑποψήφιος (?1144, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 9, 313.4)), but full forms are normally preferred thereafter (e.g. οὐδὲν εὐρίσκω εἰς ἐμὲν *Chron. Mor.* H 948).

The array of prepositions that appear routinely in LMedG/EMG (ἀπό, διὰ/γιά, εἰς/σέ, μέ, παρά = “(rather/other) than”, πρὸς) is significantly smaller than that of AG. But other prepositions are found in older texts and archaizing, legal or official registers, as well as in many formulaic phrases, many of which have ecclesiastical origins (e.g. ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Θεοῦ, etc.); in these cases prepositions that in AG governed the genitive or dative often continue to do so, though substitution of the accusative is also possible.

6.1.1 Frequently Occurring Prepositions + Accusative

ἀπό

For the use of ἀπό in partitive constructions (e.g. ἕνας ἀπὸ ἐκείνους ... ἀνέβηκε 18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 18.19–22), see 5.2.2, Rule (73) NOTE (ii). Other principal uses are: “from” (spatial/metaphorical), “via/through”, “than”, “by/with” (agent/instrument), “after”.

ἀν μισεύσειν βούλεσαι ἀπὸ τὴν Ρωμανίαν 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 344
 τὸ πέραμα νὰ ποιήσουσιν ἀπὸ τὴν Βενετίαν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H. 310
 σκάνταλον μέγα ἐγένετον ἀπὸ τοὺς Βενετικούς 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H. 408
 ὥσάν ἐπιάστη πρότερον ἀπὸ τοὺς Βενετικούς 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H. 865
 περιεπάτει, ἐχαίρετον ἀπὸ ὅλον τὸ πριγκιπᾶτο 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H. 3041
 σκοπᾶτε τὰ τέλη τῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ ἀπὸ τὸ τέλος τὴν ἀρχὴν
 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 10.13–14

γιατὶ καλλιὰ δὲν εἶν' ὁ γεῖς τίβοτσι ἀποὺ τὸν ἄλλο 17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, *Erof.* II.22

ἀπ' εὐτυχιᾶς πληθαίνει (ὁ τόπος) 17th–18th c./17th c., *Prol. Epain. Kef.* 71
 ἐκεῖνοι οἱ πανάπιστοι ... ὀργισθήκασιν περὶσσα καὶ ἀφρίζασιν ἀπὸ λύσσα ἐκδίκησης
 18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 16.22–4

διά/γιά

“for/on behalf of”, “for (the purpose of)/as”

ὑπαγαίνασιν ἐκεῖ κ' ἑκατοικοῦσαν, οἱ μὲν διά τὸ προσκύνημα καὶ ἄλλοι διά τὴν δόξαν
14th c., *Chron. Mor. H.* 120–1

ὅπου ἐσταυρώθη ὁ Χριστὸς διά τὸ ἀνθρώπινον τὸ γένος 14th c., *Chron. Mor. H.* 305

ἔπαρ' ἐκ τὰ φάρια μας νὰ ἔχῃς γιά τιμὴ σου 16th c., *Imb. Rim.* 237

πολλοὺς ἐπίασεν ζωντανούς καὶ ἤθελε νὰν τοὺς ἐξηβάλῃ εἰς τὸν κόσμον διά θαῦμα
16th c., *Diig. Alex. F* 24.6–7 (Konstantinopolus)

κατέχεις ... τὸ πῶς σ' ἐκράτου πάντα μου ὡς γιὰ δασκάλισσά μου
17th c./16th c., *CHORTATIS, Katz.* II.355–6

ἐκλελεμένος ... διά ἀσιστέντες 1687, Corfu, KARLAFTI-MOURATIDI 2005a: 1, 368.2

δὲν ἐκράτηξε (πουρκί) καὶ διά τὰ ἄλλα τῆς παιδία τὰ δύο τὴν ἐπῆρε διά γυναικὰν του
1688, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 743, 1013.7–11

εἰς/σέ

“at/to, on/onto, in/into” (spatial/metaphorical), “for (the purpose of)”, “because of”

ἐζήτησαν ὁ λαὸς χωράφια εἰς τὸ σπέρνειν καὶ ζῆν
?1130–40, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XI: 14, 533.12

δέδωκέν μοι ἔν οἴκημα εἰς θεώρετρον ἐν τῇ πόλει Μεσσήνη
1171, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. VII: 4, 363.9

μόνον προθύμως ἐξελθε εἰς τοῦ ἀμιρᾶ τὴν τόλμην 15th c./?12th c., *Dig. E* 7

ὦραν πολλὴν ἐποίησαν καὶ εἰς λογισμούς ἐμπῆκαν 15th c./?12th c., *Dig. E* 75

ἀπὲ τοῦ νῦν οὐ πρέπει μας νὰ εἴμεσθην εἰς τὸν κόσμον 15th c./?12th c., *Dig. E* 95

στὸν χρόνον ἐκείνον καὶ καιρόν, ὅπου σὲ ἀφηγήθη ἐδῶ 14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 7964

καὶ τ' ἄλλα πάντα θαυμαστούς, γενναίους εἰς ἀνδρείαν
16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 30

ἠπῆρεν τοὺς, ἐπέβηκεν ᾗ τὸ κάτεργον ἀτῆ τῆς ἐδιέβηκε εἰς τὴν Φράγκιαν τοῦ ρήγαν
Ἰταλίας

15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 19–20

ἄρχισεν ἐξεβαίνειν ἔξω ἐκ τὰ νησία, ἀμέριμνα καὶ ἀφοβα, ὥσπερ εἰς τὰ νησία
15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 155–6

ἔθεσαν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ἀναγεγραμμένη μὴν εἰς ὕμνον καὶ δόξα τοῦ παντοδυνάμου Θεοῦ
1558, Corfu, KONDOYANNIS/KARYDIS 1994: 2, 649.11

ὁ δὲ ἀγαθὸς ἄνδρας ἐκεῖνος ... ἐκατενύγηκεν εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν
17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 41.3–4

μέ

“with”, “by (means of)”

ὁ ἐκατήλλαξα μέ τὸ σύντεκνόν μου τὸν Μιχαήλ
ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 80.24

ὅταν ἐσυμβιβάστηκα μέ τὸν ἐχτρὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ 14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 5722

μέ τὸν μακαρίτην τὸν αὐθέντην τὸν πατέρα τοὺς ἐσυντύχαμεν περὶ τοῦτου
1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 287.11–12

καὶ λαλοῦν πῶς ὁ κούνη τε Ρουχᾶς ἔνε εἰς μεγάλην ἀγάπην μέ τὴν κυράν μας τὴν ρηγίαν
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron. V* 220.34–6

ἔστοντας νὰ ἐπάρουσι τὸ Σάλονα μέ προδοσίαν ἐνὸς Σαλονίτου, ... ἐπεράσασι ...

ξεπλερώνοντας ... τὸ γαῖμα τῶν συντρόφων, ποὺ μέ πόλεμο καλὸ χύθηκε στὸ
Γαλαξειδί 18th c., ΕΦΤΗΥΜ., *Chron. Gal.* 16.24–17.6

ἔνας ἀπὸ ἐκείνους ... ἀνέβηκε μέ μία σκάλα νὰ τὸ (καντῆλι) ἐξεκρεμάσῃ
18th c., ΕΦΤΗΥΜ., *Chron. Gal.* 18.19–23

παρά

“beyond” (metaphorical), “(more) than” (with a comparative adjective/adverb), “other/ rather than”, “instead of”, “but for/except for” (= “only” in combination with a preceding negative, cf. “nothing but (for) X” = “only X”): *περὶ* is sometimes substituted

μὴ φοβηθῆς τὸν θάνατον παρὰ μητρὸς κατάραν 15th c./?12th c., *Dig. E* 2

Φιλοπαππού, γνωρίζεις με παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους πλέον 15th c./?12th c., *Dig. E* 1385

λεπτομερῶς τοὺς ἔδειξεν τὴν στράταν τῆς Πολέου, τὸ πῶς ἐνι διαφορικὴ πλέον παρὰ (sc. ἐκείνην) τῆς Συρίας
14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 505–6

ὅστις ἦτον μακρύτερα παρὰ γὰρ τὸν Δεσπότην 14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 3623

ἄλλα πλεῖστα καὶ πλείοτερα παρὰ ἐκεῖνα ὅπου τοῦ ἐδῶκεν
14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 4626

ὅσα παρὰ τὴν δύναμιν 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1560

πλέον περὶ ἄλλες Ἀμαζόνες αὐτὲς εἶχαν τὴν χάριν
15th–16th c./15th c., *Theseid* I.57,8 (Follieri)

τὰ ἄλογα δὲν εἶχα νὰ φᾶν παρὰ τὰ κιτρομηλόφυλλα
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron. V* 110.10–11

δὲν θέλετε τῶς πάρει παρὰ 5 τὰ ἑκατό 1662, Sifnos, MERTZIOS 1958a: 1, 110.143

NOTES

- (i) The meaning “but rather”, though not a feature of SMG, did occur in earlier demotic and is a natural development from “rather than”, cf. “don’t do X rather than Y” > “don’t do X but rather (do) Y”, where the preposition has been reanalysed as a conjunction. Μὴ φοβηθῆς τὸν θάνατον παρὰ μητρὸς κατάραν (*Dig. E* 2, cited above) might therefore be read this way, though unambiguous examples of such reanalysis are hard to find.
- (ii) We may also note the potential for reanalysis of *παρὰ* in negative contexts as the modifier of a numeral or quantifier, cf. MG *δεν ἤρθε παρὰ ἑνός X*, where the use of the nominative excludes a prepositional analysis. Again, *δὲν θέλετε τῶς πάρει παρὰ 5 τὰ ἑκατό* (1662, Sifnos, MERTZIOS 1958a: 1, 110.143, cited above) might be understood this way, but clearly does not have to be.

πρός

"to(wards)" (spatial/metaphorical), "in accordance with", "against" (spatial), "about (number)", "X (number/amount) each" (distributive)

- άνταπεκρίνατο πρός με ό ύποψήφιος 71144, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 9, 313.4
 ώμον πρός ώμον έθθηκαν και πρός άλλήλους λέγουν 15th c./712th c., Dig. E 780
 εκείνη έκατεπήδησεν και πρός έμένα ήλθεν 15th c./712th c., Dig. E 1186
 οί δύο κοντάδες του έδωκαν πρός ξναν καβαλλάρην 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 220
 όμπρός όπίσω εξέβαιναν πρός είκοσι και τριάντα 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 1063
 τά έθνη γάρ τά άβάφτιστα, όρκον άν σε ποιήσουν πρός τά συνήθεια όπου έχουσιν 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 1249-50
 ήρτεν πρός την ανατολήν, και ήρτεν εις την Κύπρον, και επέζευσεν πρός την Λεμεσόν και ήυρεν τό νησιν έρημον 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 4.9-11
 εις τό πλε(υ)ρόν του βημάτου πρός τον νότον έχει λάκκον 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 38.17-18

6.1.2 Prepositions of More Limited Frequency

Included here are a number of inherited prepositions, which may take the same case as in AG, or alternatively take a different case (given in brackets), either as a result of hypercorrection or in accordance with vernacular practice.

άντί + gen./acc.)

"instead of"

- άρκουν έμοί τά κάλλη της άντί πολλών προικίων 13th-14th c./712th c., Dig. G IV.747
άντι πατρός και άντι μητρός και άντι αδελφούς και φίλους έχω έσένα σήμεραν έδω εις την ξενιτείαν μου 14th-15th c./13th c., Liv. E 61-2
 τας ψυχάς αφήσωμεν άντι λιθομαργάρων 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], Kallim. 225
 ό δέ τεχνίτης τον χρυσόν εις δένδρον μεταπλάττει, άντι καρπών δέ τεχνικώς ενέθηκεν τους λίθους 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], Kallim. 317-18
 βασιλεύς έστέφθηκα άντι δέ του πατρός μου 16th c./15th c., Om. Nekt. Vas. 53

από + gen.

"from" (often non-spatial), "by (means of)", "as a result of/after", "X (number/amount) each" (distributive)

- κατά ένα των αδελφών από δύο ίματίων έχουν χρή 12th c./11th c., NIKON, Logos 1 104.28-9
από μανίας μου ρίπτω το άνταμού με τό σκουτέλλιν 14th c./12th c., Ptoch. IV 244
 τότε να ίδης πόλεμον καλών παλληκαρίων και από της μάχης της πολλής κρούσιν διασυντόμας 15th c./712th c., Dig. E 35-6
 ήμεϊς γάρ εύρισκόμεθα από γενεάς μεγάλης 15th c./712th c., Dig. E 136

- από καρδίας έστέναξεν, εκ βάθους της ψυχής του 15th c./712th c., Dig. E 635
 εις τον μαρκέσην ήλθασιν, γλυκέα τον χαιρετούσιν ... από των λοιπών όλων των πελεργίνων 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 228-30
 ή Πόλις επίδστη από σπαθίου, ώσαν σε τό άφηγοῦμαι 14th c., Chron. Mor. H. 550
 να στείλω εκεί φουσσάτα ... να υπάγουν της θαλάσσης κι άπαύτου πάλε από της γής να υπάγουν της στερέας 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 4233-5

διά + acc./gen.)

"because of"

- διά του έλέους του όρισεν τον Κεραμέαν ό,τι έχει διά πρακτικού ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 80.32
 ελόγισεν, ώς φρόνιμος, ότι άμαρτία ήθελε είσται, διά ενός ανθρώπου θάνατον να μείνη τό πασσάτζο 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 169-70
 έγνωρίζω ότι διά έμού την άφορμήν τό πολεμοῦν εκείνοι 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 283-4
διά τά άγια λείψανα τά εύρίσκονται εις την Κύπρον 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. O 24.6-7
διά τουτο γράφω ..., διά τον άπειθή λαόν, όπου δέν βοηθά τον άρχιερέα αύτου 1622, ?Karpathos, ZERLENDIS 1918d: B, 300.14-17
διά τό αυτόν πράμα όπου είχεν την έπήρε διά γυναϊκαν του 1688, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 743, 1013.7-11

διά + gen./acc.)

"through(out)", "by means of"

- διά πολλής ταχύτητος ήλθον εις Ρωμανίαν. ... οί και τούτω εδήλωσαν διά γραμματοφόρου 13th-14th c./712th c., Dig. G II.100-3
 τό δένδρον ... ποτέ οῦ καρπεύγει διά την γήν 15th c./13th-14th c., Liv. E 145-7
διά θαλάσσης και ξηράς να υπάσιν να κουρσεύσουν 15th c., Chron. Toc. 1.61
 εύρέθη δι' άποκαλύψεως θεοῦ 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 34.1

εκ + gen./acc.)

"from/out of", "as a result of"; εκ μέρους = "on behalf of"

- ώ παναθλία, τί έπαθες εκ της παραδικίας! 15th c./712th c., Dig. E 115
 άπήρεν δύο καβαλλαρίους όπου είχε εκ της βουλής του εκ την Τσαμπάνια έξεβηκεν κ' εις την Φιλάντριαν ήλθεν 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 172-3
 εις τον μαρκέσην ήλθασιν, γλυκέα τον χαιρετούσιν εκ μέρους των εύγενικών εκείνων των κοντάδων 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 228-9
 μετά ταῦτα του έλάλησεν, εκ στόματος του είπεν 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 329
εκ τον πολύν του τον δαρμόν 15th c., Peri xen. 31
 ό άνθρωπος ... πιάνει τον (ξύλινον θεόν) εκ τους πόδας και ρίπτει τον εις την γήν' και όταν έσυντρίφη, εκ τό κεφάλιν έρευσε χρυσάφι 16th c., NOUKIOS, Ais. Myth. 109.5

ἐν + dat./acc.)

"in"; ἐν τούτῳ = "then/next"

πρόφθασον ἐν ἀνάγκαις νῦν, πρόφθασον ἐν τῇ θλίψει 15th c./12th c., *Dig E* 1840ἐν τούτῳ, ὡς ἠθέλησε Θεὸς νὰ γένη τὸ πασσάτζο 14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 157ὡς γὰρ ἐνσταίνει χάριτας ἔρως ἐν ἄλλοις πᾶσιν, οὕτως ἐν μόνῳ χωρισμῷ γέμει
πολλὰς πικρίας 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 18–19ἐν δὲ τοὺς χρόνους καὶ καιροὺς ἐκείνους ὅπου ἀκούεις οἱ Ἀλβανῖται ἀφέντευον τὸν
τόπον Δεσποτάτου 15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 44–5ἐβουλεύθηκα ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἐν τριάδι προσκυνουμένου, νὰ
ἐξηγηθῶ περὶ τῆς ἀκριβοῦς χώρας Κύπρου. Ὡς χρόνοι εἶνε γ' ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, ...
ἤτζου εἶνε καὶ οἱ ἡμέραι τῆς ζωῆς μας 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron. V* 2.1–5
ἐγράφη ἐν τῇ πόλει Λευκωσία ἰγ' δικοβρίου, αὐτῆς Χριστοῦ
16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron. V* 222.5–6

ἐπὶ + acc. (sometimes for traditional genitive, e.g. ἐπὶ τοῦτον for ἐπὶ τοῦτου)

"to(wards)", "for (the purpose of)", "for (the duration of)"

ἀλλήλους ἐσυνέκοπτον ἐπὶ πολλὰς τὰς ὥρας 13th–14th c./12th c., *Dig. G I* 179κάκειθεν μὲν ὑπέστρεφον πάντες ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον 13th–14th c./12th c., *Dig. G III* 32θροηθέντες ἀνέδραμον πάντες ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος 13th–14th c./12th c., *Dig. G III* 94ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ προκειμένον ὁ λόγος ἀνακτέον 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 23οἱ Γενουβίσοι ἐποίησαν ἕναν χαρτὶν νοταρικόν: "... ἐμπροσθεν ἐμοῦ ... καὶ μαρτύρων
..., ἐπὶ τοῦτον κληθέντων καὶ παρακληθέντων ..."16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron. V* 504.29–33

ἐπὶ + gen.

"(up)on", "during (the time of)"; ἐπὶ ὀνόματος = "in the name of"

ἀλλ' ὡς ἐκατεστάθησαν ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμερῶν μας 13th c./12th c., *GLYKAS, Stichoï* 215ἐλιγοθύμησε ... καὶ πεσοῦσα ἐπὶ γῆς παρέδωκεν τὸ πνεῦμα
15th c./12th c., *Dig. E* 1864–5ἐπὶ τῆς αὐρίου γὰρ τὸ πρωί, ... ἐδῶκαν τὰ σαλπίγγια τοὺς
14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 1479–80καθήμενος ἐπὶ λαμπροῦ βασιλικοῦ τοῦ θρόνου
16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 695εὐρέθη στρώμα κείμενον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς στρωμένον
16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 798ἡ ποία ἀγία ... ἐποίησε καὶ ἔκτισαν πολλὰς ἐκκλησίας εἰς τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ ἐπὶ
ὀνόματος τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζώντος 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron. V* 4.23–6

ἐπὶ + dat.

"on (top of)/over" (non-spatial), "in (the case of)", "for (the purpose of)"

ἐπὶ προδῆλοις πράγμασιν οὐ χρεῖα τῶν μαρτύρων 13th c./12th c., *GLYKAS, Stichoï* 44
τοῦ κόρακος ἐπάνω μου τῆς στέγης ἐπὶ κακῷ καθίσαντος καὶ κράζειν ἀρξαμένου
13th c./12th c., *GLYKAS, Stichoï* 46–7ἐπὶ θανάτῳ θάνατον δέχεται καθ' ἐκάστην 13th c./12th c., *GLYKAS, Stichoï* 113
ἡ μήτηρ εὐφραίνεται ἀληθῶς ἐπὶ τέκνοις 13th–14th c./12th c., *Dig. G II* 35

κατὰ + acc.

"according to", "through(out)/during": κατὰ τύχη(ν) = "by chance"

ὁ τέλει γὰρ χρησάμενος τοῦ βίου κατὰ φύσιν 13th c./12th c., *GLYKAS, Stichoï* 102ἃς εἶδες κἂν ἐνύπνιον γλυκύν κατὰ τὸν ὕπνον! 13th c./12th c., *GLYKAS, Stichoï* 168ὁ υἱός μου νὰ ἔλθῃ μετ' ἐσᾶς κατὰ τὰς συμφωνίας μας 14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 700ποῦ κατὰ τύχην ἀπέρχεται βάρκα ἀπὸ τὴν Πούλιαν 14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 2240μὲ τὸ θέλημα ὅλους τοὺς περίτου αὐθέντες ... ὅπου εὐρίσκονται κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν
16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron. V* 42.11–13μία λοιμικὴ ἀσθένεια ... ἐποίησε ἐξολόθρεμα καὶ κατὰ τὰ μέρη Σαλόνου
18th c., *EFTHYM., Chron. Gal.* 20.1–4

κατὰ + gen./acc.)

"in front of" (spatial), "against" (metaphorical); κατὰ πρόσωπα = "in the face of"

θεωρεῖς ἐκείνους τοὺς ἀγρίους ὁρμώντας οὕτω κατὰ σοῦ
13th c./12th c., *GLYKAS, Stichoï* 173–4τὸν ἰὸν ἐξέχεε κατὰ τοῦ εὐεργέτου 13th c./12th c., *GLYKAS, Stichoï* 386ἀνάθεμά με, βασιλεῦ, ὅταν στραφῶ καὶ ἰδῶ τον, τὸ πῶς ἀνακομβώνεται κατὰ τῆς
μαγειρείας 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. III* 131–2ἡ πόλις τῆς Τσάρας ... ροβολεμένη εὐρίσκειτο κατὰ τῆς Βενετίας
14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 416–17ὅποτε θελήσου νὰ ρεβελιάσουν κατὰ μέναν 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron. V* 20.10ἂν σηκώσῃ τὸ χέριν του κατὰ πρόσωπα τοῦ ψουμάτου
16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron. V* 24.28–9εἰς τὸ ὅποιον περισσότερο ἐθυμώθηκεν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ὠργίζετο κατὰ τῶν μοναχῶν
17th c., *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 39.21–2

μετὰ + acc.

"after"

μετὰ δὲ τὴν συνάφειαν συνέλαβεν ἡ κόρη, καὶ ἔτεκε τὸν Διγενῆ Βασιλεῖον Ἀκρίτην
13th–14th c./12th c., *Dig. G II* 47–8μετὰ ταῦτα τοῦ ἐλάλησεν, ἐκ στόματος τοῦ εἶπεν 14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 329

μετά την παραδρομήν καὶ τοῦ τοσούτου τόπου εἰς κάστρον κατηντήσασιν μέγα
16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 173–4

μετὰ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ρε Οὕγκε ἐρμάστην μετὰ τὸν Ρεῖμουν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ πρίντζη
16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 40.15–16

μετὰ + gen.(/acc.)

“with”

λεπτῶς τὸν ἀφηγήσαντο τὴν πρᾶξιν καὶ τὸν βίον, κι ὅσα ἐκατεστήσασιν μετὰ τοὺς
Βενετικούς 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 376–7

μετὰ βουλῆς καὶ ὀρίσμου κύρ Σάκη τοῦ Βατάτση ἐστέψασιν διὰ βασιλέαν Ἀλέξιον
τὸν υἱὸν του 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 587–8

πρὸς τὸν τρίτον τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς αὐτοκρατορίας μεταγαγεῖν ἐπείγετο μετὰ πολλοῦ
τοῦ πόθου 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 36–7

οἱ Βενετικοί ... μετὰ πονηρίαν, μετὰ φρόνεσιν, μετὰ μεγάλης τέχνης, γιοφύρια ἐποίκασιν
ἄνω εἰς τὰ καράβια 16th c./14th c., *Chron. Mor.* P 540–2

μέχρι + gen.(/acc.)

“as far as/until”

ἀπὸ γὰρ τὴν ἀνατολὴν μέχρι τοῦ ἡλίου τὴν δύσιν 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 1610

ἀνέταξεν ἐπὶ πολὺ τὴν κρεμαμένην κόρην, μέχρι ποδῶν ἐκ κορυφῆς ὡς ἄκρων τῶν
δακτύλων 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 508–9

κοιμάται μέχρι δειλινοῦ βασιλικῶς ἡ κόρη 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 2120

φαίνονται μέχρι τὴν σήμερον τὸ τειχόκαστρον καὶ οἱ θεμελοὶ τοὺς πύργους
16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 98.15–16

παρά + acc.(/gen.)

“against/beside”, “contrary to”; παρὰ καιρόν = “out of time, at the wrong time”

παρὰ καιρόν ὑποπτεσεῖν θανάτῳ κατεκρίθη 13th c./12th c., *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 569

νὰ μετὰ δειδίξης ἀσκήμα, ἀδίκως, παρὰ λόγου 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4175

παρὰ τὴν ρίζαν τοῦ δένδρου ἐκείνου καθημένη 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1815

ὄφεις μεγάλοι, φοβεροὶ καὶ θῆρες παρὰ φύσιν 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 190

νεκρὸς νὰ γένηται εὐθύς παρὰ τῆς ὥρας 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 2554

παρά + gen.

“from/by” (an animate source)

τοιαῦτα πέπονθα δεινά, κρατάρχα στεφηνόρε, παρὰ μαχίμου γυναικὸς καὶ
τρισυλτηρίας 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* I 268–9

φωνὴ παρὰ τοῦ δράκοντος εἰς τὸν Ἀκρίτην ἦλθεν 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 1090

παρὰ σαλῶν καὶ ἀτακτῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐδιδάχθη 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 1565

τὸ τί ... νομεύεται παρὰ τοῦ Καμπανέση 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1909–10

περί + gen.(/acc.)

“about/concerning” (non-spatial); περί πολλοῦ = “greatly”

ἡμᾶς δὲ κατηχίζουσιν περί φιλαργυρίας 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* IV 407

ὅς σᾶς ἀφηγήσωμαι περί τὰς ἀμωρίας του 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 619

περί ἀπελάτων ἤκουσε εὐγενικῶν καὶ ἀνδρείων 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 624

οἱ Φράγκοι γὰρ ὡς ἔμαθαν περί τοῦ βασιλέως 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 560

ἐβουλεύθηκα ... νὰ ἐξηγηθῶ περί τῆς ἀκριβῆς χώρας Κύπρου
16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 2.1–3

ὅς ποῦμεν καὶ περί τῶν κουμουνίου τῶν Γενουβίων καὶ Βενετῶν
16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 198.31–2

ἀγάπα δὲ περί πολλοῦ νέους χαριτωμένους 16th c., *Imb. Rim.* 17

πρό + gen.

“before” (spatial [early])/temporal/metaphorical); πρό καιροῦ = “before one’s time”,
πρό πάντων = “above all”

τοῦτο πρό πάντων ἀπιστον εἶχον καὶ φλυαρίαν 13th c./12th c., *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 17

ὦ πάτερ, πάτερ βασιλεῦ, παῖδας ἀνάνδρους ἔχεις, ἂν πρό πολέμου τρέπωνται καὶ
φεύγουν πρό μάχης 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 112–13

καλὸν μὲν οὖν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τοῦτο πρό πάντων ἄλλων τὸ μὴ πεσεῖν εἰς μέριμναν
ἐρωτικὴν τὸν νοῦ σου 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1029–30

ἕναν εὐρούσα πρό πυλῶν ἀπὸ τῶν παιδοπούλων, στήκει καὶ λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν
16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1070–1

πῶς ἐμαράνθη πρό καιροῦ ἀπὸ κλαυθμοῦ καὶ πόνου
16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1591

τὰ κοντάρια στένουσιν πρό μάχης νὰ κινήσουν 16th c., *Imb. Rim.* 460

σύν + dat.(/gen.)

“(together) with”

αὐτὸς τῆς ὁδοῦ ἤπτετο ἅμα σύν τοῖς ἀγούροις 13th–14th c./12th c., *Dig.* G II.300

ἐξῆλθον ἐξωθεν καὶ γὰρ θρηνητῶν σύν τοῖς ἐτέροις 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* I 218

τὸ κοράσιο ἐγέλασεν, μεγάλως τὸ ἀποδέχθην καὶ σύν ἐκείνης τῆς χαρᾶς πάλιν γελά
ἡ κόρη 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 1120–1

οἱ καβαλλάροι σύν αὐτῷ εὐτύς ἐγονατίσαν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5887

ἔδοκει γὰρ σύν τῷ λευκῷ καὶ ρόδου χάριν ἔχειν
16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 816

ὑπὲρ + acc.(/gen.)

“above/beyond/past” (spatial [early])/metaphorical), “more than”

κἂν ὑπὲρ κέδρους ὑψωθῇ καὶ κορυφᾶς ὀρέων 13th c./12th c., *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 374

ἔχει ... καὶ τόλμην ὑπὲρ ἀπασαν καὶ γνώμην θηριώδην 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 1333–5

ἄνθρωπος ἦτο εὐγενικός, φρόνιμος ὑπὲρ μέτρου 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 161

- δπου ἀπιστήσαν εἰς ἐμὲν ὑπὲρ φορῶν γὰρ δύο 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5660
 διατὶ ἦτον εὐγενικός κ' εἰς πλοῦτος ὑπὲρ φύσιν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 6298
 τὴν ἡδονὴν ὑπὲρ τὸν λόγον ἔχων 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 286
 τὰς χάριτας ὑπὲρ αὐτὴν τὴν τῶν Χαρίτων φύσιν 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 810
 κρατούμενοι ὁ εἰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἄλλου εἰς πίστιν 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 260.10–11

ὑπὲρ + gen.

“for (the purpose of)”, “on behalf of”, “because of”

- θανοῦσα ὤψεσθε μητέρα ὑπὲρ τέκνου 13th–14th c./12th c., *Dig.* G I.79
 τοὺς μαρτυρήσαντες στερρῶς ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ τοῦ λόγου 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* III 288
 κλίνειν ἔχω κεφαλὴν ὑπὲρ εὐχῆς μου πρώτης 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 290
 αὐτὰς ψυχὰς προδώσωμεν, τὰ σώματά μας ὅλα ὑπὲρ ἀγάπης ἀδελφοῦ 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1355–6

ὑπὸ + acc.

“under/beneath” (rare/early)

- δεῦρο ὑπὸ σκιάν ἀπέλθωμεν τοῦ δένδρου 13th–14th c./12th c., *Dig.* G VI.775
 μὴ γὰρ ἀπώση με ... ὑπὸ τὴν σὴν προστρέχοντα μετὰ δακρύων σκέπη 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* IV 9–10

ὑπὸ + gen.

“by” (agent/instrument); ὑπὸ χειρὸς (formulaic)

- ὧν δὲ τὰ μέλη ἅπαντα ... γνωρισθῆναι ὑπὸ τίνος μὴ δυνάμενα ὅλως 13th–14th c./12th c., *Dig.* G I.229–30
 πῶς κατεκόπτης μεληδὸν ὑπὸ χειρὸς βαρβάρων; 13th–14th c./12th c., *Dig.* G I.239
 ὡς ὑπὸ βέλους τὰς ψυχὰς ἐτρώθησαν τῷ κάλλει 13th–14th c./12th c., *Dig.* G VI.127
 ἐστέφθη εἰς τὸν Ἅγιον Νικόλαον ὑπὸ χειρὸς τοῦ φρε Πιερ Τουμαῆς 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 92.31–2
 ἰδόντας ὁ Μπαγιαζῆτης ὅτι νικάται ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐκθροῦ του 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 39.23–4

χάριν + gen.

“for (the sake of)”; follows NP in AG

- χάριν αὐτοῦ μὴ θλίβεσαι 13th c./12th c., *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 313
 εἰ προσεγγίσει πῶποτε τολμήσει τῷ πυλῶνι χάριν μικρᾶς ἀνακωχῆς καὶ κουφισμοῦ τῶν πόνων 13th c./12th c., *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 452–3
 τίνα ζητεῖτε, ἄγουροι, τίνος χάριν θρηνεῖτε; 13th–14th c./12th c., *Dig.* G I.218
τούτου χάριν τὸν πόλεμον οὐδαμῶς ἐπρηχύνθη 13th–14th c./12th c., *Dig.* G VI.752
 τὸ ἕτερον (ἔχω ἀγοράν) ἀπὸ τοῦ Παρασκευᾶ καὶ τοῦ Παγκάλου καὶ Πετρώνα χάριν ψυχικῆς σωτηρίας ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 80.26

- ἀς δώσουν καὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην ὑπέρπυρον ἀ' χάριν κουρτζουβακίου ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 81.52
 ὁθεν καὶ χάριν τούτου γράφοντες ἀναφέρονεν τῷ σῶ μεγίστῳ κράτει 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 2274–5

χωρὶς + gen./acc.)

“without”

- γονεῖς ἀτέκνους καθιστᾶ, τέκνα χωρὶς γονέων 13th c./12th c., *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 35
χωρὶς θαλάσσης πνίγεσαι, χωρὶς πυρὸς ἐξάπτεις 13th c./12th c., *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 145
 εἰ δὲ κἀκεῖνος τρέφει με, χωρὶς λόγου παντοῦ, νὰ λήψεσθε τὴν ἀδελφὴν μηδὲν ζημιωθέντες 13th–14th c./12th c., *Dig.* G I.122–3
 οὐκ ἔκρινα τοῦ ἀπελθεῖν πρὸς αὐτοὺς χωρὶς ὀπλων 13th–14th c./12th c., *Dig.* G VI.521
 αὐτοὶ τὸν ἀπεκρίθησαν λόγια χωρὶς ἔργον 15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 1625
 ὠμόσαν μερτικὸν θεληματικῶς, καὶ μερτικὸν χωρὶς τὸ θέλημάν τους 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 44.29–30
 ἔμεινεν χωρὶς βλάβην ὡς γοιὸν ἦτον 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 68.16
 θέλω ... τίποτας νὰ μὴν ποίσης χωρὶς τοῦ θελημάτου μου 16th c., *Imb. Rim.* 167–8

6.2 Phrases with a Governing Adverb

(82) Local, temporal and comitative PPs headed by ἀπό/ἐκ, εἰς/ἐπὶ and μέ may be governed by semantically appropriate adverbs; these combinations in part replace the simple prepositions that were falling out of use (see above). The adverbial element usually precedes the PP, though sometimes follows it.

Such adverbs may also govern a genitive NP directly; clitic (personal) pronouns are regular in this construction, and clitics also appear with certain other adverbs (for examples see below).

6.2.1 Adverb Governing a PP (Headed by ἀπό/ἐκ, εἰς/ἐπὶ, μέ)

With ἀπό and ἐκ

(i) = “above”/“below” (with separation)

- ὁ ἴδρος τοὺς ἐξεβαίνειν ἀπάνω ἀπ' τὰ λουρίκια 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 41
 ἡ λεγόμενη χώρα τῆς Ἰνδίας εὐρίσκεται κάτω ἀπὸ τὴν Αἴγυπτον 17th c., *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 30.21–2

(ii) = “outside”/“out of”

- ἄρχισεν ἐξεβαίνειν ἔξω ἐκ τὰ νησιά, ἀμέριμνα καὶ ἄφοβα, ὥσπερ εἰς τὰ νησιά 15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 155–6
 τοῦ ὁποίου δίδει ἀουτοριτάν ... ὅτι νὰ ἡμπορῇ νὰ τήνε ντεφεντέρη ... καὶ ἔξω ἀπὸ τὴν κούρτην εἰς πᾶσα κρίσιν καὶ ὀφίκιον τῆς αὐτῆς χώρας 1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 30, 49.4–7

(iii) = "apart from" (non-spatial), "without"

- ἔσὺ ῥθες κ' ἐπολέμησες χωρὶς ἐκ τὴν βουλὴ μου 16th c., *Imb. Rim.* 153
 ἐμολόγησεν εἰς τὸν ὄρκον του πῶς δὲν ἐγένηκε ἄλλην προσκάμωσιν παρὲς ἀπὸ τὰ
δύο μουσκάρια 1581, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 20, 32.6-7
 τοὶ ὁποῖες ἀτσετάραν καὶ οἱ τρεῖς ἀδελφοί, δξω ἀποὺ τὸ Στράτη
 1613, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 841, 733.16-17

(iv) = "after"

- ὕστερα ἀπὸ τοῦτα, ἐκαμῶθη ὁ σουλτάν Μεχεμέτης τάχα πῶς θέλει νὰ κάμη
 ἀγάπην με τὸν βασιλέα 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 83.9-10
ὕστερα ἀπὸ κάμποσα, μία λοιμικὴ ἀσθένεια ... ἐποίκε ἐξολόθρεμα καὶ κατὰ τὰ
 μέρη Σαλόνου 18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 20.1-4

With εἰς/σε and ἐπὶ

(i) = "(up)on, above, over"/"below"

- στραφεῖς οὖν πάλιν ἔπεσον ἐπάνω ἐπὶ τὴν κλίνην 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* I 204
 ὀρκῶ σε κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ κ' εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν σου ἀπάνω 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7543
 βουλὴν ἀπήρα ... ποτὲ νὰ μὴ τὴν στρέψω ὥσῳτὶ στέκη ἡ ψυχὴ ἐπάνω εἰς τὸ
κορμί μου 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1412-13
 οἱ Βενετικοί ... γιοφύρια ἐποίκασιν ἄνω εἰς τὰ καράβια
 16th c./14th c., *Chron. Mor.* P 540-2
 ἦλθαν καταπάνου εἰς τὸ φουσατόν τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου
 16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 14.21-2 (Konstantinopulos)
 στρώσετε τάβλα ἀπουκάτου εἰς τὴν ἀπιδέα, νὰ φάω, νὰ πιῶ με τὸ Χάροντα
 16th c., *Nov. II* 162.35-6
 φάγα το (ψωμί) οἱ γι-ἄθρωποι ἀποπάνω στὸν τάφο τῆς
 1642, Crete, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 21, 15.8
 νὰ πᾶς νὰ τὸν ἀγκαλιαστεῖς εἰς τὸ δεντρὸ ἀποκάτω
 18th c./16th-17th c., KORNAROS, *Erot.* IV.1546
 ὁ Σάντσος ἐκαλοκάθισεν ἀπάνω εἰς τὸ γομάρι του 18th c., *Don Kis.* 47.27-8

(ii) = "between"/"during"

- ἀρκεῖ καὶ σώζει νὰ γενῇ εἰρήνη καὶ φιλία ἀνάμεσα γὰρ εἰς τοὺς δύο ἀφέντες τῆς
Ρωμανίας 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 2582-3
μέσον εἰς τὰ καμῶματα ... ἔτυχε καὶ συνέβηκεν ἀπέθαν<εν ὁ Σπά>τας
 15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 174-5
ἀνάμεσα εἰς τοῦτα ἐσυνέβηκε καὶ ἐτοῦτο 17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 39.20-1

(iii) = "inside"

- ἔσὺ ἂν ... καὶ βλέπης ἄλλον κείμενον ἀπέσω εἰς τὸ καμίνιν
 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 119-20

- τοὺς ἐκατέσφαξαν ἀπ' ἔσω εἰς τὰ κρεβάτια 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1542
 τὸν ἐκράτει ὁ βασιλέας εἰς φυλακὴν του ἀπέσω 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7969
 πηγαίνοντα εἰς τὴν ἀρχιεπισκοπὴν, ἐβγάλαν τὰ πράματα τὰ ἐπῆραν ..., μέσα στὸ
παλάτιν τῆς ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς 16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 20.5-7
 ἡ πανιερότη σου δὲ μοῦ ἔκαμες δύο λόγια ἐκεῖ μέσα στὴ γραφὴ
 1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 4, 171.24-5

(iv) = "in front of"/"behind", "before" (temporal)

- στὸν χρόνον ἐκείνον καὶ καιρόν, ὅπου σὲ ἀφηγήτην ἐδῶ ὀπίσω εἰς τὸ βιβλίον
τοῦτο ποὺ ἀναγινώσκεις 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7964-5
 βλέποντας ἓνα καντήλι ..., ποὺ ἔκαιε ἐμπρὸς στὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ Χριστοῦ
 18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 18.20-2
 ἐπεριπατοῦσε καὶ ἔτρωγεν κατόπι εἰς τὸν ἀγάν του 18th c., *Don Kis.* 47.29

(v) = "near/beside/around"

- τὰ τριπουτσέτα ἐσύρνασιν γύρωθεν εἰς τοὺς πύργους 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1481
 ἔχοντα καὶ ἦτον κοντὰ τὸ Ἱεροσόλυμαν εἰς τὴν Κύπρον, ἦλθαν πολλοὶ με τὲς
 γυναῖκες τοὺς καὶ μὴ τὰ παῖδιά τους 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* O 24.7-9
 ἔκαμεν χρεῖαν ὅτι ἐγὼ νὰ σταθῶ σιμὰ εἰς τὸ κτίσμα 17th c., *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 57

(vi) = "as far as"

- ἐρχόντησαν μέχρι εἰς τὴν γῆν ὥσῳν νὰ ἦσαν βάρκες 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 539
μέχρι στὴν Ἀνδριανόπολιν ἐσῶσαν κ' ἐκουρσέψαν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 647
 ἐρήμωσαν πολλὰ μέχρι καὶ εἰς τὲς πόρτες 15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 368

With μέ = "together with"

- ἀπὸ μανίας μου ρίπτω το ἀνταμοῦ με τὸ σκουτέλλιν 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* IV 244
 στέκοντας καὶ ὁ Ἰωσήφ εἰς τὴν Βηθλεέμ ὁμοῦ με τὴν ἀγίαν Θεοτόκον Μαρίαν
 16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 337.29-30
 εἰς τὴν διάταξίν σου ἀντάμα με τοὺς κληρονόμους σου ... ἃς ἔχη τὸ χαρτί σου
 (καὶ) τ' ὄνομαν τοῦ δικαστοῦ 16th c., *Pist. kekoim.* 494-6
ὁμάδι με τὴν συμβίαν του καὶ με τὴν θυγάτηρ των
 1594, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 152, 276.4-5
 τάσσει ὁ αὐτὸς ἀφέντης Τζώρτζης νὰ κάμη τὸ Γιάννη-Τουρκογιάννη ... νὰ σπείρου
ὁμάδι με τὸν αὐτὸν κυρ-Νικολὸ τὰ χωράφια
 1611, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 729, 632.10-11
 διατὶ ἂν εἶναι ἐκεῖνοι ὁμάδι με τοῦ λόγου σου, ἐγὼ δὲν σοῦ ἀποκρίνομαι
 17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 34, 1-2

6.2.2 Adverb + Genitive NP

ἕτερον χωράφιν εἰς τὴν Παληρέαν μοδίῳν ἡ', πλησίον τοῦ Πετεάκα καὶ τοῦ Τορνάρη
ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 80.27

νὰ ποιήσῃ κι ἄλλον (κάστρον) γύρωθεν ἐκείνων τῶν βουνίων
14th c., Chron. Mor. H 3000

ἀνάμεσα γὰρ τῶν Φραγκῶν καὶ τοῦ ἐδικοῦ του ἀλλάγῃ ὑπάγαινε
14th c., Chron. Mor. H 5063-4

ἐπεὶ ... τοῦ τόπου τὰ συνήθεια ὀρίζουν ὅτι ὁ πρίγκιπας ... σωματικῶς νὰ ἀπέρχεται
ἐντὸς τοῦ πριγκιπάτου 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 7880-3

ὁ τάφος τῆς εἶνε κάτω τῆς γῆς 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 34.2
μόνον μὲν τορμήσῃς νὰ τὸν πάρῃς ἔξω τῆς Κύπρου
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 68.24-5

νὰ ἐμποῦσιν μέσον τοῦ ρηγὸς καὶ ἐκείνου νὰ τοὺς ποίσουν ἀγάπην
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 198.2-3

τὰ ποῖα εἶναι καταπρόσωπα τοῦ λουτροῦ, τοῦ κόκκινου
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., Chron. A 6.13

ἐνέβην ὀμπρὸς τοῦ ρηγὸς 16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., Chron. A 40.15-16
τὸ ἅγιο ἔργο ... ἔδωκε ἀφορμὴ ἐμᾶς ... νὰ φανερωθοῦμε ἐμπροσθεν τῆς
ἐκλαμπρότη(ς) σας 1561, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969a: 1, 33.3-5

ὥς δὲ ἐφθάσαμεν ἐμπροσθεν τῶν θυρῶν 16th c., PAPA-LAVR., Diigisis (Meteoron) 108.13
εἰς πᾶσαν αὐτῆς ὑπόθεσιν καὶ διαφορὰν ἐμπροσθεν τῆς ἐκλαμπροτάτης ἡμῶν
Αὐθεντίας 1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 30, 49.4-5

ἐμάζωξε ὅλα του τὰ φουσσᾶτα καὶ ἐδιάβη καταπάνω τοῦ Μάρκου κράλη, ἀφεντὸς
τῆς Βουλγαρίας 17th c., Chron. Tourk. Soult. 29.11-12

ἐπῆγες καὶ κόντρα τῆς φύσεώς σου νὰ μὴν λυπηθῇς τὰ παιδία σου
17th c., VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas. 33.29-30

ὄντε ξημερώνει, ἄμε ὀμπροστὰς τοῦ βασιλέως 17th c., VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas. 42.5-6

+ Genitive Clitic

πῶς ἠπλώσας ἐπάνω μου; 14th c./12th c., Ptoch. I 145

ὀργὴν νὰ ἔχῃ ἀπάνου του ὁποῦ ποτὲ ἀγάπη θελήσῃ μὲ τὸν Γρίαμον νὰ ἔχῃ μίαν
ἡμέραν 16th c./14th c., Pol. Tr. 1467-9 app. crit. (V)

ἐξάγκωνα τοὺς φέρετε δεμένους ἐμπροσθὲ μου 15th c./14th-15th c., Achil. L 367

παρακαλῶ σε νὰ ποίσωμεν δῆμμαν μεσὸν μας
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 20.17-18

εἰς τὸ ἔμπα του εἰς τὸ καστέλλιν, ἐσφαλίσαν τὲς πόρτες καταπρόσωπά του
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., Chron. A 36.20-38.1

τὰ πρόβατά του δὲ θέλει χόρτα σήμερο νὰ φᾶν ἀπὸ σιμά του
17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, Panor. I.33-4

ὅλα τὰ τερπνὰ τοῦ κόσμου ἦσαν ὀμπρὸς του ὥσαν ἓνας βρῶμος
17th c., VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas. 47.15-16

ὕστερα ἦρθαν καταπάνου τους βασιλικά στρατεύματα
18th c., EFTHYM., Chron. Gal. 22.13-14

Non-Spatial Adverbs + Genitive Clitic

τὸν ἔχω εὐκαιρητὴν ἐκείνον τὸν γονέα ὁποῦ διδάξῃ γράμματα ποτέ του τὸ παιδί
του 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, Stichoi 208-9

ποτέ μου δὲν ἐζήλωσα κακὸν διὰ νὰ λαλήσω 16th c./15th c., Om. Nekt. Vas. 39

εἰς πάθη στέκω πάντα μου κι εἰς κόλαση μεγάλη
17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, Panor. I. 216

ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἡ συνβίαν του καὶ νὰ ἐπῆγεν νὰ ἐπουρκόταζε κρυφά του τῆς θυγατέρας
της 1688, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 743, 1013.4-5

7 Coordination and Apposition

7.1 Coordination

7.1.1 Sentences and Clauses

(83) The linking together of (at least potentially) independent sentences within a narrative by means of initial *καί* is common in vernacular texts.

Treatment of such cases as a succession of autonomous sentences rather than a series of conjoined main clauses within a single sentence is essentially arbitrary, partly reflecting the manuscript tradition and partly the inclinations of editors.

The core meaning is simply additive ("and then/next"), though the context may invite more specific readings involving causation, consequence, etc.

Καί καθά παρωνόν ἐπήγαινεν εἰς τὴν Ἀγίαν Σοφίαν. *Καί* ἐγρίκαν λειτουργίαν. *Καί* τότε ἐκαβαλλίκευεν. *Καί* ἐπήγαινεν εἰς τὴν ρήγαιναν. *Καί* ἡ ρήγαινα ἐδείχνε του πολλὴν ἀγάπην. 16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 50.2–5

Ἦτον ἐνὸς βασιλέως υἱός. *Καί* ἐν μιᾷ τῶν ἡμερῶν ἠθέλησε νὰ ὑπάγῃ εἰς τὸν λουτρόν νὰ λούσῃ τὸ κορμί του. Ἦτον παχύς εἰς τὸ κορμί του, ὁμοῦ καὶ χοντρός, ὥστε ἀπὸ τοῦ πάχους δὲν ἐφαινόμντεσαν τὰ ἀρχίδια αὐτοῦ. *Καί* ὁ λουτριάρης, ἔστοντας νὰ ἰδῇ ἐτοῦτο, ὅτι κακὸν ἦτον τοῦτο τὸ πάθος, ἐκλαίεν αὐτόν. 16th c./15th c., *Syndipas* 116.10–14

Καί ἐμαζώκτησαν πολλοὶ καὶ ἀρματώθησαν καὶ ἐδιάβησαν καὶ ἐστάθησαν κοντὰ στὸν ποταμὸν λεγόμενον Σάβα. *Καί* ἀκαρτερούσανε τὸν σουλτάν Μουράτη, ὅπου ἐρχέτονε μὲ πολὺ φουσσᾶτο καὶ ἔσυρνε κοντὰ του καὶ τοὺς δύο του υἱούς. 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 27.14–17

(84) Two or more main clauses may be conjoined with (*καί* ...) *καί* "(both ...) and ...", as may two or more subordinate clauses of the same type/with the same function; these are normally governed by the same conjunction if one is present.

Since subject pronouns are regularly omitted in LMedG/EMG unless contrastive/emphatic, it is often impossible to determine whether we are dealing with coordination of complete clauses with missing subjects, e.g. [_s [_s (she) came] and [_s (she) saw] and [_s (she) conquered]], or coordination of VPs that share a subject, e.g. [_s (she) [_{vp} [_{vp} came] and [_{vp} saw] and [_{vp} conquered]]. Ambiguous examples are therefore divided somewhat arbitrarily between the two possibilities (i.e. treated as clausal coordination immediately below, and as VP coordination in 7.1.3).

In cases other than those involving conjoined clauses/VPs the default position adopted here is that we are dealing with coordinated sub-clausal constituents of the relevant type (e.g. AdjPs [[*tall*] and [*slim*]] in *she was tall and slim* etc.; see 7.1.3 for LMedG/EMG

examples), even though competing analyses involving conjoined VPs with verb ellipsis [[*was tall*] and [(*was*) *slim*]] or conjoined clauses with omission of subject and verb [[*she was tall*] and [(*she was*) *slim*]] are often possible.

Ντζανέτα τὴν ὠνόμασαν, *καί* [ὅσον ἐκαταστάθη κ' ἤλθεν τοῦ νόμου ἡλικίας κ' ἐγίνετο γυναικα], ἄντραν τῆς ἐδώκασιν μισὲρ Νικόλαον ἐκείνον. 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8032–4

ἔπιεν ὁ πτωχὸς τὸν οἶνον *καί* ἐλησμόνησεν τὰ χρέη του. 16th c./?, *Paroim.* H 50

Ἦτον παχύς εἰς τὸ κορμί του, ὁμοῦ *καί* χοντρός (*sc.* ἦτον), ὥστε ἀπὸ τοῦ πάχους δὲν ἐφαινόμντεσαν τὰ ἀρχίδια αὐτοῦ. 16th c./15th c., *Syndipas* 116.11–13

ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας Ἰωάννου Κομνηνοῦ ... ἦτον ἓνας ὀνόματι Μιχαὴλ Δούκας Γλαβᾶς, *καί* ἐτίμησέ τον ὁ βασιλεὺς πρωτοστράτορα *καί* ἔδωκέν τον τὸ φουσάτον ὅλον τὸ ῥωμαϊκὸν *καί* ἐμπιστεύθη του *καί* ἀπέστειλεν αὐτόν κατὰ Περσῶν ἡγουν τῶν Κιζιλμπάσιδων. 1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 7, 15.3–5

ὁ ὁποῖος Λάζαρος ἔκαμε τέσσαρες ἡμέρες εἰς τὸν Ἄδην, *καί* ... ἐξηγήθη εἰς τέσσαρα βιβλία *καί* ἰδόντας αὐτὰ οἱ ἀπόστολοι *καί* οἱ πατέρες, ἔκρυψαν τὰ τρία *καί* δὲν ἠύρισκονται τὸ δὲ πρῶτον βιβλίον τοῦτο ἔναι εἰς τὴν Ρώμην *καί* ἤκουσα ἐκ τὸν Σάντα Κροῦζε τὸν γαρδηνάλε, ὅτι πᾶσα ὁποῦ νὰ γένῃ νέος καρδηνάλες, τοῦ τὸ δίδουνε, καὶ τὸ διαβάξει μία φορά, καὶ ἄλλον ἄνθρωπον δὲν τὸ δείχνουν. 1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 11, 19.1

ἐκόπηκε τὸ μιανότατο χέρι του *καί* ἔπεσε νεκρὸ ... *καί* μεγάλος σεισμὸς ἐγενέθηκε. Ἐτότες ἐφάνηκε ἓνας καβαλάρης ... *καί* ἄρχισε νὰ σφάζῃ τοὺς πειράτες *καί* τοὺς ἐπῆρε κυνηγώντας ὅξω ἀπὸ τὸ Γαλαξείδι ..., *καί* ἐκεῖ ἔγινε ἄφαντος ἀπὸ τὴν γῆ. Ἐτότες οἱ Γαλαξειδιῶτες κατατρεγμένοι ἐπήγασιν *καί* ἐχτίσασιν σπιτία στὰ τριγύρω νησόπουλα. 18th c., ΕΦΤΗΥΜ., *Chron. Gal.* 18.24–19.8

Οἱ ἰατροὶ ἐτράβηξαν τὰ σαλιβάρια τῶν μουλαρίων, *καί* ἐστάθησαν *καί* ἔμειναν ἐκφοβοί, [ἓνα μὲν βλέποντας τὸ ἦθος τοῦ δὸν Κισότη *καί* ἄλλο ἀκούοντας τὰ λόγια ὁποῦ τοὺς ἔλεγε], *καί* τὸν ἀποκρίθηκαν. 18th c., *Don Kis.* 50.3–6

(85) The enclitic ("second-position") connective *δέ* "and/but" is also used to link both independent sentences in a discourse and clauses with parallel function in a single sentence.

Between independent sentences the choice between additive and contrastive meaning is context-dependent; between clauses in a single sentence the meaning is more often contrastive.

Δέ is particularly frequent in the combination *εἰ δέ* (μή) "and/but if (not)" (the negative version is also used as a lexicalized phrase = "otherwise").

Δέ may also be combined with the definite article in pronominal sense, e.g. *ὁ δέ* "and/but he" etc., which may in turn be clarified by an appositive NP, e.g. *ὁ δέ* [ὁ X] etc.; in rather more literary texts, *ὁ δέ* etc. is sometimes paired contrastively with a preceding *ὁ μὲν* etc. "the one ... ((while) the other ...)".

ὑπᾶτε, παραλάβετε, ἀμόλυντον κοράσιον ἐγὼ *δέ* διὰ τὰ κάλλη τῆς καὶ τὴν πολλὴν εὐγένειαν ἀρνοῦμαι καὶ τὴν πίστι μου καὶ τὴν πολλὴν μου δόξαν 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 174–6

- ὁ ἀδελφός μου ... ἐπῆγεν, τὸν Ἑρμόναν ἀνέδραμεν καὶ τὸν Ζυγὸν ἐπίασεν, τὴν δὲ Ἀρμενίαν ἐξήλειπεν, πολὺν κακὸν ἐποίησεν 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 261–3
- εἰ δὲ ἀγαπᾷς τὴν περισσά, τέκνον, ὡσάν μοῦ λέγουν, ἔπαρε καὶ αὐτὴν μετὰ ἐσέναν 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 282–3
- εἰ δὲ περάσῃ ὁ καιρὸς ... κι οὐδὲν ἀπέλθῃ ἐδῶ κανεῖς τὴν ἀφεντίαν νὰ ἐπάρῃ, θέλω γὰρ ... νὰ μείνῃς κύριος ἀπ' ἐμοῦ 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1883–6
- ὅτι ἐκ τοῦς μῆνας δώδεκα ... νὰ ἐκπληρώνῃ ὁ κατὰ εἰς τοῦς τέσσαρους γὰρ μῆνας εἰς γαρνιζοῦν καθολικὴν ... * τοῦς δὲ τοῦς ἄλλους τέσσαρους νὰ ἀπέρχεται εἰς φουσσάτο, ... τὸ δὲ τὸ τρίτον τοῦ χρόνου ... ὀφείλει ὁ προνοιάτορας νὰ ἐνὶ ὅπου θέλει. 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1995–2001
- καὶ ἐμείναν δ' σταυροί. Τὸν δὲ σταυρὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀφῆκεν τὸν εἰς τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων με πολλὺν χρυσίον καὶ μαργαριτάριν, καὶ πέτρες. 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 6.7–9
- Ἡ δὲ ἡ ρήγαινα ἐκάτzen εἰς τὸν ἡλιακὸν εἰς τὸ διάβαν τοῦς καβαλλάριδες 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 50.12–13
- ὁ κύριος οἶδεν ὅτι τῶρα τὰ ἐγροίκῃσα τοῦτα τὰ λογία, ὁ δὲ ὁ σουλτάνος με πολλὴν χαρὰν καὶ πολλὴν ἀγάπην ἐστερέωσεν καὶ ἐβεβαίωσεν τὴν αὐτὴν ἀγάπην. 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 294.9–12
- Ἀνισῶς καὶ δὲν ἤξεύρῃ τίποτε, ὅς πάγῃ ἀκαταζήτητος, εἰ δὲ καὶ ξεύρῃ, νὰ τοῦ δώσουν θάνατον. 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 300.4–6
- ἀπὸ τὸν φόβον ἐπιάννασιν τὰ μαρμαρένα πιλερία ..., οἱ δὲ κεῖνοι ... καὶ ἴκόββαν τὰ χέργια τους, καὶ ἐπέφταν καὶ ἴσκοτῶνουνταν. 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 314.4–8
- καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐφουρκίσαν, τοὺς δὲ ἐκόψαν τὲς μοῦττες τους 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 674.14
- ἐστελανε τὸν τζαούση μαντατοφόρο εἰς τὸν Μπαγιαζίτη, ὅτι νὰ δώσῃ τὰ κάστρη ..., εἴτε δὲ καὶ δὲν τὰ ἐπιστρέψῃ, τὸν ἔχει διὰ ἐκθρόν 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 38.7–9

NOTES

- (i) There are many examples of elliptical clausal conjunction involving ὡσαύτως/ὡσπερ/καθὼς καὶ “(just) as also ...”, where the connection is properly comparative/equative rather than simply additive, though the meaning slips easily into “and also” in many cases:
- οὐκ ἔμπορῶ ἀπόκρισιν νὰ ποιήσω ἄνευ βουλῆς καὶ θέλημα ... τοῦ ρῆγα, ... ὡσαύτως (οὐκ ἔμπορῶ ἀπόκρισιν νὰ ποιήσω ἄνευ βουλῆς καὶ θέλημα) καὶ τῆς ρηγαινας 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 242–6
- [τὸ δίκαιον τῆς ἀρχόντισσας μαντάμα Μαργαρίτας νὰ τὸ κρατήσετε καλὰ] [ὡσπερ (νὰ κρατήσετε καλὰ) καὶ τὸ τῆς κούρτης] 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7545–6
- ἐτοῦτα μὲν εἶπεν ὁ ἀστρολόγος, καθὼς πρωτύτερας (εἶπεν) καὶ ὁ Βαλαάμ 17th c., *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 38.26

- (ii) Coordination between two clauses (with or without ellipsis) may also be achieved through the use of ὅχι μόνο(ν) ... ἀλλά/ἀμὴ/μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ... “not only ... but also ...”:
- ἐπλάκωσεν τὸν λαὸν ὅλον καὶ οὐχὶ μόνον (ἐπλάκωσεν τὸν λαὸν ὅλον) ὑπὸ ἀνέμου, ἀμὴ καὶ (ἐπλάκωσεν τὸν λαὸν ὅλον) ὑπὸ νεροῦ, ὅτι ἐξήχυσεν ὁ ποταμὸς καὶ ἔπνιξεν χιλιάδας ν' καὶ β' 1326, *Cyprus, DARROUZÈS* 1953: 41, 93.7–9
- καὶ ἔνα ἐντροπὴ μεγάλη καὶ ὅχι μόνον ἐντροπὴν, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ζημία 15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 2773–4
- (iii) Absence of formal coordination (“asyndeton”) is a standard option between all but the last pair of a series of three or more coordinated clauses, though it is not uncommon, especially in verse, for coordination to be left unmarked throughout:
- ἡμουν παιδίν, ἐγήρασα, πολὺν διήλθον κόσμον, σοφῶν ἀρχαίων ἤκουσα, πολλὰς ἀνέγνω βίβλους, πάντων ἐν πείρᾳ γέγονα, πᾶσαν ὁδὸν ἐξεῦρον, πλάσματα πάλιν μυθικά καὶ λόγους γραϊδίων ἠκριβωσάμην 13th c./12th c., *GLYKAS, Stichoí* 1–5
- πίνει τα καὶ ἐρεύγεται, κίρνοῦν τὸν ἄλλον ἕνα, καὶ παρευθὺς ὑπόδημαν ἐγείρει καὶ πετσώνει 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. III* 123–4
- θέλω νὰ ἀφηγήσωμαι περὶ τὸν Μέγαν Κύρην, ... ὅπου ἦτον δοῦκας Ἀθηνῶν, καλὸς ἀφέντης ἦτον 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7958–60
- ἂν στραφῇ εἰς τὴν Φραγκίαν, ἂν οὐδὲν ποιήσῃ ἔργον νὰ μείνῃ εἰς τὴν Ῥωμανίαν νὰ εὖρῃ οἰκονομίαν τοῦ, ὅλοι τὸν θέλουσι γελά, μέμφεσται καὶ ὄνειδίζει 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8183–5
- εἰς τὸ καράβι σύντομα ἐσέβηκεν, ὑπάγει ... τόσα ἐπλευσαν, τόσα ἐποικαν, φθάνουν τὴν Σαλαμίαν 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1383–5
- ἔλα μέσα, ἰδές με 16th c., *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 331.5
- (iv) When, after a negative proposition, a conjoined clause is also negated, οὐδέ/μηδέ “and not” are regularly used, though disjunctive οὔτε/μήτε “nor” are sometimes used instead, especially in more popular registers (the two meanings are barely distinct in negative environments); there is also some evidence in later texts of uncertainty regarding the choice of οὐδέ/οὔτε vs. μηδέ/μήτε:
- μὴ οὖν ἀποχωρίσῃς τους, μὴδ' ἀποπέμψῃς μᾶλλον 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. I* 12
- οὐκ εἶδα εἰς τὸ δακτύλιν μου κρικέλλιν δακτυλίδιν, οὐδὲ βραχιόλιν με ἔφερες ποτὲ νὰ τὸ φορέσω 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. I* 51–2
- ἐκεῖνοι οὐδὲν τοῦ ἐποίκασιν τίποτε πονηρίαν, οὔτε ἀνυπολήπτῃσαν τὸν βασιλέαν κἀνόλως 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5266–7
- θάνατον οὐκ ἐψήφησα ποτὲ εἰς τὴν ζωὴν μου, οὐδ' ἔλεγα [νὰ χωριστῇ ψυχὴ ἐκ τὸ κορμίν μου] 16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekr. Vas.* 57–8
- οἱ μάμμες ἔστεκαν ἔξω ἀπὸ τὸ σπήλαιον καὶ δὲν ἤβλεπαι, μήτε ἔμποροῦσαν νὰ σεβοῦν μέσα εἰς τὸ σπήλαιον ἀπὸ τὴν πολλὴν λάμψιν 16th c., *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 329.24–6

τὰ πάθη της δέ γνώθουσι, οὐδέ τὰ κουρφα τῇ ἐνιῶσα καὶ λέν πῶς τό 'χει φυσικό
 ν' ἀδυναμίση τόσα 18th c./16th–17th c., KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.35–6
 τῆς κόρης δὲν της ἀγγίξεν, οὐδέ ἐπείραξεν τὴν 17th c., PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 2373

- (v) For the “subordinating” use of the conjunction καί, see Chapter 2, Rules (23), (27) and (29) (under *Verbs of Aspectual Specification*, NOTE (ii)).

7.1.2 Contrastive and Disjunctive Clausal Coordination

- (86) To emphasize a clearly contrastive/adversative connection between sentences or clauses (= “but”, “however”) ἀλλά, ἀμ(μ)ή/ἀμ(μ)έ/μά, ὅμως and πλὴν are used; ὅμως only links independent sentences, but the remaining conjunctions are also used to connect clauses within a sentence.

ἀμμή δεσμά καὶ βάσανα καὶ φυλακάς καὶ πύργους, Βαράγγους ἀ[λαλά]ζοντας καὶ ὁ
 φόβος ἐξυπνᾷ σε 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 169–70

Ὅμως ἐγὼ ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴν χάριν καὶ τὴν δόξαν οὐδὲν εὐρίσκω εἰς ἐμέν ...
 τοσοῦτην ἀδιάκρισιν, νὰ μὴ τὸ ἐγνωρίζω ὅτι 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 947–9

μὴ ἀκριβευτῇ, ὀκνήσῃ το, μὴ ὅλως τὸ ἀμελέσῃ, ἀλλὰ ἄς βιαστῇ μὲ προθυμίαν τὸν
 τόπον νὰ κερδίσῃ 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4566–7

Ἀλλὰ ἀφότου ἄλλαξεν τοῦ πρίγκιπος ἡ ἀφεντία, καὶ ἤλθαμεν στὴν ἀφεντίαν τοῦ
 ἀφέντη μας τοῦ ρῆγα, ἐὰν εἶχαμεν τὴν δύναμιν νὰ ἐποιήσαμεν τὸ ὁμάτζιον!
 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7908–10

Ὅμως ἄς λείψουν τὰ πολλὰ, ἐὰν ἐν' τὸ θέλημά σου 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7916
 τίποτε δὲν σας θέλουν ὠφελήσῃ (τῶν Φραγγῶν τὰ λόγια), πλὴν θέλουν σας χαλάσει,
 καθὼς ἐχαλάσασιν καὶ τοὺς θεσσαλονικαίους 1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.15–16

Ὅμως τοῦτο θέλομεν τὸ σκεφθῇ ἀντάμα, καὶ θέλομεν ποιήσῃ τὸ κάλλιον
 1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 287.5–6

δὲν σὰς τὸ ἔγραψα ὅτι πῶς νὰ πορνεύετε, ἀμμή διὰ νὰ μὴν ἀπελπίζεται τινὰς κἄν
 ἀμαρτωλὸς πολλὰ καὶ ἂν ἔναι, ἀλλὰ νὰ σπουδάξῃ νὰ κἀνῃ ἐλεημοσύνην
 16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 415.21–4

Ὅμως δὲν διδοῦμεν ἀφορμὴν τινος καὶ σκούζαν νὰ μὲν διδῇ ψυχικά, ἐλεημοσύνην,
 ἀποὺ ζῶντά του, ἀμμή νὰ τὰ φυλάγῃ ἀποθανόντα του 16th c., *Pist. kekoim.* 499–501

δὲν ἦτον φῶς καθαρὸν, ἀμμή ἦτον ὥσαν ἀντάρα
 16th c., PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 107.30–1

Μὰ εἴν' τὸ πρεπτό ... νὰ σᾶσε φανερώσω ποιοὺς εἶμαι
 17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Panor. Prol.* Apoll. 9–10

δὲν εἶδα νὰ σταθῇ τὸν ἥλιο νὰ μ' ἀκούσῃ, μὰ εἶδα χαράκια καὶ δεντρά πολλὰ ν'
 ἀνασπαστοῦσι, νὰ φεύγῃ 17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Panor.* I.73–5

Ἀμ' ὅσῃν ὦραν ἤβλεπεν ἐκεῖνο ποὺ τὴν κρίνει, οἱ λογισμοὶ κ' οἱ πόνοι τῆς τῇ κἀναν
 καλοσύνης, μὰ σὰν τὸν εἶχε στερευτῇ, περίσσεια ἐτυραννᾶτο κι ὅλη ἐξανασπασσετο
 κι ὅλη ἐξαναγεννᾶτο 18th c./16th–17th c., KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.19–22

Πλὴν φαίνεται τῶνε πῶς εἶναι μίαν σκλαβίαν νὰ εἶναι εἰς τὴν ὑποταγὴν τοῦ κοινοβίου
 1615, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 6, 174.12–13

- (87) Disjunctive clausal coordination is expressed positively by (εἴτε ...) εἴτε ... / (ἢ ...) ἢ ... “(either ...) or ...” (also οὐ in Cyprus, γῆ/δ in Crete, ὅβερ in the Cyclades etc.), and negatively by οὔτε ... οὔτε ... / μήτε ... μήτε ... “neither ... nor ...”; οὐδέ/μηδέ “and not” may be substituted when the sense is clearly additive (cf. NOTE (iv) above), though this also occurs occasionally when the meaning is disjunctive.

For the single use of οὔτε/μήτε, see again NOTE (iv) above.

In later texts there is evidence of uncertainty regarding the choice between οὐ and μή in these elements.

When forms of θέλω are contrasted in formulaic expressions of the type “(whether I/you) like it or not”, the conjunction is normally omitted (θέλεις ... θέλεις ... can be used to mean simply “whether ... or ...”):

θέλω οὐ θέλω γίνομαι καὶ τὸ μαροῦ σαμάριν 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 558

ἐννόμους δὲ γάμους πληροῦσιν οἱ Ρωμαῖοι, ὅταν εἶναι ὁ ἄνθρωπος χρόνων ἰδ' καὶ
 ἄνωθεν, ὁμοίως καὶ ἡ γυναῖκα νὰ ἔναι χρόνων ἰβ' καὶ ἄνωθεν, θέλεις αὐτεξούσιοι
θέλεις ὑπεξούσιοι ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 238.400–2

Positive

ἤντεστάτην, ὅταν τὸ ἤκουσα εἴτε ἐθεώρουν τινὰς, ὅτι ἐκρατοῦσαν το
 12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 9 314.5–6

τὸ μεγαλογράμματον ἱμάτιν τὸ κνηκάτον ἢ χάρισον ἢ πώλησον ἢ δὸς ὅπου κελεύεις
 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* I 60–1

ἐκεῖνον τὸ πρᾶγμαν εἶχαν το πάρειν, οὐ εἶχαν το σύρειν εἰς τὴν γῆν τοὺς Σαρακηνοὺς
 15th c./13th c., *Assizes B* 424.9

ἄσ' τα αὐτὰ τὰ φαγητὰ καὶ δὲς νὰ μοῦ βοηθήσῃς, γῆ ἀποθαμένος βρῖσκομαι
 17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Katz.* III.111–12

νὰ ἔρθῃ εἰς τέρμενο μέρες τρεῖς ἐρχόμενες νὰ τὰ ἐμολογήσῃ, δ νὰ τὰ φέρουσι στὸν
 τόπο τῶς 1664, Crete, LYDAKI 2000: 7, 417.16–17

ἀνίσως καὶ λάβῃ τὰ ἄνωθεν γρόσα καλά, ὅβερ καὶ τὰ ἄνωθεν γρόσα δὲν λάβῃ
 1686, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 8, 21.6–7

NOTE

- (i) In examples where the first clause contains an imperative and the second an indicative verb, such as the *Katzourbos* example above (ἄσ' τα αὐτὰ τὰ φαγητὰ καὶ δὲς νὰ μοῦ βοηθήσῃς, γῆ ἀποθαμένος βρῖσκομαι), the disjunctive element implies “if you don't (do as I ask)”, and may often be translated “or else”.

Negative

ὁμνέω ... ὅτι νὰ μὴν δὲν ἔχετε κανέναν φόβον ... μήτε ἐκκλησίας νὰ χαλάσωμεν, μήτε
 μασιγίδι νὰ ποιήσωμεν 1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.17–22

νά μή μπορῇ νά τῶνε πάρη περισσότερο ἀπού τὰ κζ' μουζούρια τὸ στάρι ὁ ἄνωθεν ἀφέντης Νικολός, οὐδέ κείνος (νά [μή] μπορῇ νά τῶνε πάρη περισσότερο) οὐδέ τὰ παιδιά του (νά [μή] μποροῦν νά τῶνε πάρουν περισσότερο)

1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 5, 28.10–12

εἰ μὲν ... καὶ ἀποθάνην τὸ παιδί ... καὶ μείνῃ ἀκληρη, νά μὴν ἡμπορεῖ ἀπὸ τὴν πουργὴν ... μήτε νά πουλήσῃ, μήτε νά χαρίσῃ, μήτε νά πουρκοδοτήσῃ, μήτε διὰ τὴν ψυχὴν τῆς νά κάμῃ [παρὰ μόνον δύο πρόθεσες νά δώνῃ διὰ τὴν ψυχὴν τῆς]

1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 31, 180.14–21

ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἡ εὐμορφία εἰς μίαν τιμημένην γυναῖκα εἶναι ὥσάν τὴν μακρινὴν φωτίαν ἡ ὥσάν ἓνα κοπτερόν σπαθί, ὅπου μήτε αὐτὸ κόπτει μήτε ἐκείνη καίει ὅποιον δὲν πλησιάζει αὐτά

18th c., *Don Kis*. 91.25–8

τόσον ἐκαταπίεσθη πῶς ἐκεῖνοι ἦτον γίγαντες, ὅπου οὔτε ἄκουε τὲς φωνὲς τοῦ ὀπλοφόρου του, μήτε τοὺς ἐγνώριζε, ἀγκαλὰ καὶ νά εἶχε πλησιάζει

18th c., *Don Kis*. 45.20–2

7.1.3 Other Constituents

(88) Sub-clausal constituents of all kinds may be coordinated in similar ways, provided that the elements involved are of the same syntactic category.

With predicative expressions (e.g. after the verb “to be”), however, it is not necessary for the coordinated elements to be categorically identical; the functional equivalence is sufficient.

As noted above, it may be difficult to decide in particular cases whether we are dealing with true constituent coordination or coordination of clauses with ellipsis in the second conjunct.

Additive ((καὶ ...) καὶ ... “(both ...) and ...”)

NP Coordination

οὐκ ἡμπορῶ ἀπόκρισιν νά ποιήσω ἄνευ [βουλῆς] καὶ [θέλημα τοῦ ἀφέντου μου τοῦ ρῆγα], ὅπου ἔχω [ἀφέντην] καὶ [γαβρόν]

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 243–5

ὀρκῶ ... [ἐσέν] κι [ὅσοι καθέζονται μετὰ σέ ἐδῶ εἰς τὴν κούρτην], τὸ δίκαιον τῆς ἀρχόντισσας ... νά τὸ κρατήσετε καλὰ

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7543–6

ἐγεννήθηκεν ἀπὸ μίαν παρθένον ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὅποιος ἐναι αὐθέντης [τοῦ οὐρανοῦ] καὶ [τῆς γῆς] καὶ [τῆς θαλάσσης] καὶ [πάσης κτίσεως]

16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 335.1–3

VP Coordination

[κούρση ἡπήρασιν πολλά], [ἐπίασαν καὶ ἀνθρώπους], κ' [ἐστράφησαν ἐσώθησαν εἰς τὴν Ἁγίαν Μαύραν]

15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 166–7

[πέψε φέρε ἀπὸ τοὺς φίλους σου καὶ ἀπὲ τὴν πίστιν σου καλοὺς καβαλλάρους ψουμάτους] καὶ [ποῖσε ἀβιτζιάλιδες]

16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 22.24–5

AdjP Coordination

ὡς ἦτον [μέγας] κ' [εὐγενής] κ' εἶχε πολὺ λογάριν

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8072

τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῇ ιδ' μαρτίου αὐτοδ' Χριστοῦ ... οἱ [ἐντιμώτατοι] καὶ [φρονιμώτατοι] ἀνθρώποι ... ἦλθαν ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ ρηγός

16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 504.40–506.4

PP Coordination

ὀρκῶ σε [κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ] κ' [εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν σου ἀπάνω] ... τὸ δίκαιον τῆς ἀρχόντισσας ... νά τὸ κρατήσετε καλὰ

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7543–6

μοίρασε τὸ ρηγάτον σου [εἰς αὐτόν σου] καὶ [εἰς αὐτόν τους]

16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 22.26

Coordination of Predicative Expressions

ᾤμοσε ὁ μπάιλος ... καὶ τότε οἱ λίζιοι ἀνθρώποι, νά εἶναι [δοῦλοι] καὶ [πιστοὶ ...]

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7930–1

NOTES

(i) The AG combination ... τε καὶ ... “both ... and ...” is confined almost entirely to the poetic formula/cliché μικροὶ τε καὶ μεγάλοι “young and old”:

βουλὴν ἀπῆραν ἐνομοῦ μικροὶ τε καὶ μεγάλοι

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 906

(ii) The content of an expression may be rendered more precise by appending a “both-and” specification, cf. “the human beings, both men and women”; this is common in legal texts, where the relevant meaning is often expressed in the form ἔτσι/τόσον (καὶ) ..., ὥσάν καὶ ... “just as ..., so also ...”:

καὶ ἀνὶ φυτέφῃ καὶ ἄλλα νά κάνου καρπό, [ἔτσι ἀπὸ τὰ παλιὰ] [ὥσάν καὶ τὰ νιά], νά παίρνῃ <ὁ> ἀφεντότοπος τὰ μισὰ καὶ ὁ κοπιαστής τὰ ἄλλα μισὰ, [ἔτσι καὶ ἀπὸ τὸ ἀμπέλι] [ὥσάν καὶ ἀπὸ τὸ χωράφι]

1596, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 154, 279.10–13

ξεκαθαρίζοντας ἀκομὴ ἂν ἐναι καὶ κιανένα καιρὸ δὲν τοῦ θέλασι δώσει τὸ στάρι, νά μπορῇ, ἂ δὲν εὖρη ἄλλο τίβοτας νά πλερωθῇ, νά πιάνη τὰ ὀζά τῶνε, [ἔτσι χοντρά] [ὥσάν καὶ λιανά]

1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 5, 28.14–16

ὅποιος ἤθελεν ἀλληλοῦσῃ ἀπού τσι δύο, τόσον ὁ ἓνας ὥσάν καὶ τὸν ἄλλο, νά μπορῇ νά διδῇ τοῦ ἄλλου ὑπέρπυρα ρ'

1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 8, 30.11–12

If a negative meaning is required, οὔτε/μήτε ... οὔτε/μήτε ... “neither ... nor ...” are used, with some fluctuation between initial οὐ- and μή- (see under *Disjunctive constituent coordination (negative)* below):

ἦτον μέλας, ἦγουν μελαψός, μήτε [τόσον μαῦρος] μήτε [τόσον ἄσπρος]

16th c., *Vios Aisop.* K 147.10

τώρα δὲν εὐρίσκομαι νά ἔχω τίβοτις, μήτε σολδία, μήτε ρούχα

1643, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1960: 3, 3.10

- (iii) When the sense is clearly negative-additive (“and not”) οὐδέ/μηδέ are normally used, though there are overlaps with οὔτε/μήτε “nor” (cf. NOTE (iv) above and *Disjunctive constituent coordination* (negative) below):

ἤξευρε, ἀθλίᾳ, ὅτι ὁ υἱὸς μας δὲν ἀπέθανεν οὐδὲ ἀφανίσθη οὐδὲ ἐσάπη εἰς τὸν τάφον
16th c., PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 106.31–2

- (iv) Constituent coordination, like clausal coordination, may be asyndetic:

[ἔδραμεν] [ἐκούρσευσεν χωρία καὶ κατοῦνες διὰ θαλάσσου καὶ ξηρᾶς] ... κ'
[ἔστράφησαν] [ἔσώθησαν εἰς τὴν Ἀγίαν Μαύραν] 15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 163–7
[πέψε] [φέρει] ἀπὸ τοῦ φίλους σου καὶ ἀπὲ τὴν πίστιν σου καλοὺς καβαλλάρους
ψουμάτους 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 22.24–5
νὰ εἶναι ὁ ἄνωθεν κυρ-Τζανῆς ... νοικοκύρης εἰς τὰ ἄνωθεν πράματα, [πουλεῖν],
[χαρίζειν], [προικίζειν], [ποιεῖν ὡς βούλεται]
1604, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 211, 216.18

Adversative

This is expressed by ἀλλά/ἀμ(μ)ή/μά etc.:

ἀρνεῖσαι τὸν Χριστὸν μὰ ὅχι τὴν μητέρα του 17th c./16th c., MOREZINOS, *Klini* 165.14
ἐκηρύττασιν ὅχι μὲ φόβον τινὰ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀμὴ μὲ μέγαν θάρρος καὶ
παρρησίαν 17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 32.10–11

Disjunctive

Positive

Positive disjunctive constituent coordination is expressed by (εἴτε ...) εἴτε ... / (ἢ ...) ἢ ...
“(either ...) or ...” (also οὐ in Cyprus, γή/δ in Crete etc.):

ἐμὲν ποτὲ οὐκ ἐπήντησε στρατηγὸς ἢ τοπάρχης 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 149
περὶ τοῦ δούλου οὐ τῆς δούλης ὅπου φέρνει τὸν αὐθέντην του εἰς ἀγκάλεμαν, τίνα
ἐμπαίνει νὰ δώση 16th c./13th c., Cyprus, *Assizes A* 5.1–2
τίς νὰ πιστέψη εἰς Ρωμαῖον εἰς λόγον εἴτε εἰς ὄρκον; 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 758
μηνόυμε σας ὅτι ... μηδὲν σουφριάσετε κανένα μας ὀφισιάλην ... νὰ τρεμεντιαστῇ εἰς
καμία ἀγορὰ σιταρίου, οὐ κριθαρίου, οὐ κρασίου οὐ καμίας ἄλλης ρέντας
1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 7, 7.1–4
κι' ἂ δῆς τὴν Πουλίσένα γῆ τὴν Ἀννούσα, πὲς τοὺς το νὰ σοῦ τὸ ποῦν ἐσένα
17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Katz.* III.147–8
νὰ μὴν ἔχη ἐξουσίαν ποτὲ καιροῖς κανένας, ἢ ἀπὸ τὴν μεγάλην Μέσην ἢ ἀπὸ
μοναστήρι, νὰ τοὺς ἐνοχλήση 1661, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 71, 200.13–14
ἐγὼν δὲ θέλω ἀφήσων κανέναν νὰ σιμώσῃν εἰς ἐλῶνι τῆς ἢ σὲ πατητήριον τῆς
1688, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 743, 1013.12–13

Negative

In negative contexts οὔτε/μήτε ... οὔτε/μήτε ... “neither ... nor ...” are used, with fluctuation between initial οὐ- and μή-; the final οὔτε/μήτε of a series may be supported by ἀλλά (i.e. with disjunctive rather than strictly adversative meaning), or be replaced by οὐδέ/μηδέ in the emphatic sense of “not/nor even”:

ὅτι ὅποιον κάστρο καὶ χώρα προσκυνήσῃ μὲ τὸ καλόν, νὰ μηδὲν ἔχη [κανέναν
φόβον], οὐτε [κακόν], οὐτε [κουρσεμόν], ἀλλ' οὐτε [κανέναν χαλασμόν]
1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.10–12
ὁμνέω σας ... ὅτι νὰ μὴν δὲν ἔχετε [κανέναν φόβον], μήτε [αἰχμαλωτισμόν], μήτε
[πιασμόν παιδίων] 1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.17–21
δὲν εἶχε μήτε στρουμέντο μηδὲ σπιμαριστᾶδες 1657, Mykonos, VISVIZIS 1957: 4, 51.11

7.2 Apposition

7.2.1 Appositive Clauses

- (89) An appositive clause may be used to expand/clarify the content of a NP headed by an abstract noun with a non-specific but potentially propositional denotation, cf. “the news/the theory/the fact [that ...]”.

Unlike relative clauses, appositives are not descriptive of their antecedents but stand in an equative relationship with them, i.e. the content of the clause is the news/the theory/the fact etc.; their presence is justified to the extent that they add contextually relevant detail to a largely uninformative expression.

A common variant is the use of a cataphoric pronominal in place of the abstract noun, cf. “I will tell you this (sc. news etc.), that ...”

A range of clause types is attested, largely reflecting the semantics of the antecedent (e.g. factive vs. non-factive, statement vs. question etc.), and καὶ is sometimes substituted as the linking element. It is often impossible to distinguish what are in principle optional appositives (pragmatically helpful in particular contexts) from complement clauses (semantically presupposed by the antecedent even if not overtly represented). In the examples below, the “namely”-relation characteristic of appositives is reflected in the use of a comma after the head noun, though this is really no more than editorial interpretation (cf. 2.2 and 5.2.3 for further discussion, and see 5.2.3 for parallel examples treated as complements).

τὸν δὲ πατριάρχην ἔγραψεν αὐστηρὰς γραφὰς, ἀναδιδάσκων τὸ δίκαιον, ὅτι [οὐκ
ἔστιν ὁ ἀποστολικὸς θρόνος Ἀντιοχείας ὑπὸ τοῦ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως]
12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 31 822.33–5
τί τοῦτο, ὅτι [ἐπαινῶ τοὺς χειροτεχνάρους] 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* III 188
ὁ λουτριάρχης, ἔστοντας νὰ ἴδῃ ἐτοῦτο, ὅτι [κακόν ἦτον τοῦτο τὸ πάθος], ἐκλαίεν
αὐτόν 16th c./15th c., *Syndipas* 116.13–14
τοῦτον ἦτον ἡ ἀφορμή, καὶ [ὀργὴ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐππεσεν ἀπάνω τοὺς]
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 16.12–13

- ἐθαύμασεν ὁ Δάριος σ' Ἀλέξανδρου τὴν γνῶσιν, ποῦ [τὸν ἐβάσταξε καρδιά σ' ἀποκοτιά τὴν τόσην] 16th c., *Alex. Rim.* 1191–2
- τοῦτο ἦτονε μέγα θαῦμα περισσότερον παρὰ ὅλα, ὅπου [ἡ κιβωτὸς ... ἦτονε τότες εἰς τὴν γέννησιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ παλαιὰ καὶ χαλασμένη] 16th c., *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 333.27–28, 31–2
- ἔκαμεν ὄρκον, ὅτι [ἡ παραίτησις στατικῶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο] καὶ ὅτι [... εἶδισιν δὲν ἤξευρε] 16th c., *Chron. Ps.-Dorothe.* (1572) 178–80
- τί νὰ λέγω τὰ πολλὰ ὅπου δὲν κάμνουν χρεῖα, ποῦ [ἡ γῆς ἐπορφυρώθηκεν ἐκ τὰ πολλὰ κορμιάς] 17th c., *DIAKR., Diig. Pol.* 283–4

7.2.2 Appositive NPs

(90) One NP (the appositive) may be juxtaposed to a preceding NP (the antecedent) to form a construction in which the second modifies the first; the two NPs agree in case and have the same referent.

Non-restrictive Apposition

If the appositive element has a non-restrictive function, it functions much like a non-restrictive relative clause (see 5.3.3, Rule (79)), and may be understood according to context as ascribing an ancillary property to the antecedent (i.e. as descriptive: “NP, [who is also/incidentally] a/the X”), or as clarifying the identity of the referent (i.e. as expegetic: “NP, [namely/specifically] a/the X”); in many cases either reading is possible. The antecedent and the appositive may, independently of one another, be either definite or indefinite:

- ἔτεκαν παῖδα θαυμαστόν, τὸν Διγενὴν Ἀκρίτην 15th c./12th c., *Dig. E* 219
- θαρρῶν ὅτι ἄλλον δεῦτερον πατέρα νὰ γνωρίσῃ, τὸν μέγαν αὐτοκράτορα καὶ πενθερόν ἐσέναν ?12th c. or 13th–14th c., *Eisit. f.8v.* 17–20
- ἐπεὶ ἐπαρεκάλεσα τὸν παναγιώτατον ἡμῶν δεσπότην, τὸν οἰκουμενικὸν πατριάρχην 1357/60, Constantinople, *KODER et al.* 2001: 237, 364–365.1–3
- εἷς ἄρχων ἔστειλε τὸν δοῦλον του, νὰ τὸν ἀγοράσῃ πουλιὰ γενεὴς τρεῖς, περιστέρια, τρυγόνια καὶ σπουργίτες post 1427, Unknown, *HUNGER/VOGEL* 1963: 53, 44.1–2
- ἐγὼ σοῦ ἔφερα δύο μάμμες, τὴν Σαλώμην καὶ τὴν Γελώμην, καὶ στέκουν ἔξω 16th c., *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 329.27–8
- ὅσοι ... ἐπιθυμοῦσι νὰ γένουν πατέρες ἐνδόξων ... παιδίων, συμβουλευσε τοὺς ἤθελα νὰ μὴ συμμίσουν μὲ ὅποιαν τύχη γυναῖκα, πόρνην λέγω, πολιτικὴν ἢ παλλακὴν 16th c., *SOFIANOS, Paidag.* 95.9–11
- ἐπειδὴ ἡ ὁσιότατη μοναχὴ κερα Μακαρία Κουκάκαινα, ἡ ἡγουμένη καὶ οἰκοκυρὰ τοῦ μοναστηρίου τοῦ μεγάλου Γεωργίου τοῦ Κερατιδιώτου, εὑρίσκεται ἀχαμνὰ 1596, Crete, *CHAIRETI* 1969: 1, 164.2–4
- ἀμὴ εἶχεν ἕναν τίποτες ὅπου τοῦ ἔκοπτε τὴν χαρὰν καὶ εὐφροσύνην, τὸ κακὸν τῆς ἀπαιδίας 17th c., *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 31.35–8

- ρίχνοντας ἀπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸ φωτιὲς καὶ ἀστροπελέκια, ποῦ νὰ σὲ κατακάψουνε μαζί μὲ τὴν παλλακὴν, τὴν μιὰρότατην τοῦ Σατανᾶ φιλενάδα 18th c., *EFTHYM., Chron. Gal.* 26.7–10

Restrictive Apposition

A restrictive appositive NP is similar in function to a restrictive relative clause (see 5.3.3, Rule (78)). But when a definite antecedent is modified in this way, the appositive too must be definite (cf. *my brother *a/the doctor*), i.e. its specific purpose is to identify the intended member of the already definite set of individuals potentially denoted by the antecedent (e.g. “my brother who is the doctor, not the one who is the lawyer” etc.). Accordingly, the definite article is normally used in both parts of this construction in LMedG/EMG, though it is sometimes omitted with proper names (see 5.3.2 for further discussion).

By contrast, indefinite restrictive apposition requires a predicative reading of the appositive, of the type “[an X] [(who is (a)) Y]”; NPs in predicative function standardly appear without an indefinite article (see 5.3.2, Rule (76) NOTE (i)).

Definite

- ἔχω καὶ αὐτὸ ἀγορὰν ἀπὸ τὸν Θεόδωρον τὸν Καλημέρην καὶ τὴν νύφην αὐτοῦ τὴν Μαρίαν ca. 1270, Athos, *BOMPAIRE* 1964: 9A, 80.27–8
- καὶ νὰ ἴδωσιν τοὺς ἄρχοντας τοὺς ἀποκρισιάρχους 15th c./14th c., *Diig. tetr.* 46
- ἐχαρίσαμε τοῦ Γεωργίου τοῦ τσαμπερλάνου τοῦ δουλευτῆ μας τὸ κοπέλι 1468, Nicosia, *RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS* 1983: 72, 36.1
- καὶ φαιλικῶς εὐρισκομένων εἰς κάστρον ἐν τῶν ἐκεῖσε κεφαλατεύοντες ὁ γαμβρός μου Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαιολόγος ὁ Μαμωνᾶς ... ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἡ ἀδελφὴ μου καὶ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ καὶ παιδὶν ἐν αὐτῶν θῆλυ 15th c., *SFRANTZIS, Chron.* 12.2–4
- χρωστάει μου ἡ κυρὰ Ἀγγέλω ἡ κονιάδα μου ἡ Κοτομανόλαινα δουκάτα ἐφθὰ (= ἐφτά) 1637, Ithaca, *ZAPANDI* 2002b: 91, 96.44–5

Indefinite

- Ἰανουάριος ἦτον ἀπ' αὐτὸν νὰ στήκεται καὶ ἐκεῖνος, ἄνθρωπος ὅλος κυνηγός, ὅλος θαρσὺς τὸ σχῆμα 14th–15th c./13th c., *Liv. α* 1179–80
- εἶχαμεν φίλον κηπουρόν καὶ δίδαμέν του γέννημαν καὶ ἔδιδέν μας λάχανα 16th c./?, *Paroim.* H 10
- καὶ ἂν μὲ ᾄῃ ὅτι νὰ μιλήσω, γραῖαν γυναῖκα νὰ ἀγαπήσω, λέγει 16th c., *Epain. gyn.* 469–71

NOTES

- (i) A special form of restrictive apposition occurs when the antecedent identifies a conventional measure, or a container serving as a measure, and the appositive specifies the material or substance that is “measured” or “contained”. In LMedG/EMG this construction has largely supplanted the common AG use of a partitive genitive, though there are a handful of early examples in the corpus, e.g. σίτου μόδια ἐξ *Vios Philaret.* 287 (11th c./9th c.):

Definite

- ἔδωκέ του τὴν ἐπιστολὴν καὶ τὰ σεντούκια καὶ τὰ σακκία τὸν σιναπόσπορον
16th c./15th c., *Diig. Alex.* V 41.10–11
- εἶδε τὰ ἄλλα δυὸ βαρέλια τοὺς ψαρογαύρους ἔδωκες ἀπὸ καιρὸν ἐμπρίστως ἐνὸς
Σφακιώτη 1549, Crete, *DRAKAKIS* 2004: 255, 253.10–11
- νὰ μὴ μπορῇ νὰ τῶνε πάρη περισσότερον ἀπὸ τὰ κζ' μουζούρια τὸ στᾶρι ὁ
ἄνωθεν ἀφέντης Νικολός 1597, Crete, *BAKKER/VAN GEMERT* 1987: 5, 28.10–11
- ἤγουν νὰ τοὺς ἀνακατογυρίσουν ἐκεῖνα τὰ βαρέλια τὰ σῦκα
17th c., *Bertoldin.* 114.30–1

Indefinite

- ἂν γένῃ κτύπος πούποτε, μὲν ἀγγέλους βλέπεις
13th c./12th c., *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 149
- ὅπου ἐπούλησε τοὺς ἄνωθε Τρουγιανάδες ἕνα κομμάτι χωράφι
1582, Kefalonia, *ZAPANDI* 2001a: 159, 100.4–5
- ἔσοντας νὰ ἔκαμα μία μιργιά κερὶ
1697, Thessaloniki, *KATSANIS* 2012: 4, 60.1

- (ii) Multi-part proper names also constitute a special case in that, though they too are regularly treated as combinations of antecedent and appositive (with the referential range of the first name restricted by what follows), they can also be analysed as forming a single NP. When definiteness is overtly marked, the former option normally requires a separate article in each element of the name:

- ἔχω καὶ αὐτὸ ἀγορὰν ἀπὸ τὸν Θεόδωρον τὸν Καλημέρην καὶ τὴν νύφην αὐτοῦ
τὴν Μαρίαν ca. 1270, Athos, *BOMPAIRE* 1964: 9A, 80.27–8
- ἐρμάσαν την με τὸν ἀφέντην τὸν Μανουήλ τὸν Κατακουζηνόν, τὸν δεσπότην τοῦ
Μορέως 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 58.33–4

while the latter option requires only a single article to determine the name as a whole:

- ἔτεκαν παῖδα θαυμαστόν, τὸν Διγενὴν Ἀκρίτην 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 219
- ἀπὸ κεῖ ἔστειλε ᾗ τὸν Ἰωάννη βασιλέα Παλαιολόγο ὅτι ...
17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 25.11

- (iii) Titles too may be treated either as referring expressions in their own right with the following name(s)/description(s) in apposition, or simply as part of the following name(s).

The appositive structure is more usual, and is regularly employed when the second element is further modified; the article is occasionally omitted from the antecedent/title:

- ὦρα δ' τῆς νυκτὸς ἐκοιμήθη ὁ αὐθέντης ὁ κύρ ὁ κούντης ὁ σιρ Τούμας τὲ Μόρφ
1388, Cyprus, *DARROUZÈS* 1953: 101, 99.1–3
- ἐξέβη ἀμυράλλ(ης) ὁ σιρ Πιέρ ντὲ Καφρὰ ἀπὲ τὴν Λευκωσίαν νὰ πάγῃ στήν
Γένουβα διὰ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀφέντη μας τοῦ ρηγὸς τοῦ ρὲ Τζάκ
1390, Cyprus, *DARROUZÈS* 1953: 11, 89.1–3
- με τὸν μακαρίτην τὸν αὐθέντην τὸν πατέρα τους ἐσυντύχαμεν περὶ τούτου
1465, Rome, *LAMBROS* 1930: 287.11–12

The second option often involves titles with a colloquial quality, though this does not preclude their use in official documents; the article is sometimes omitted (as with names in general):

- μισίρ Ντζεφρές, ὡς φρόνιμος, παρηγορᾷ τὸν κόντον 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 177
- ὁ μισίρ Ντζεφρές, ὡς φρόνιμος ὅπου ἦτον, ἄρχισε νὰ τὸν παρηγορᾷ
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 188–9
- ἐν μηνὶ αὐγούστῳ ἀπέθανε καὶ ἡ δέσποινα κυρὰ Ἄννα
15th c., *SFRANTZIS, Chron.* 12.22
- ἐρωτήσαμεν παπὰ κύρ Γαβρήλ 1528, Athos, *LEMERLE* 1988: 53, 173.47
- ὁ κύρ Χατζῆς πεθερός μου σοῦ ἄφησε χρόνια εἰς τὴν Καβάγια
1696, Kastoria, *MERTZIOS* 1947a: 6, 213.10–11

8.1 General Principles

As a matter of grammatical rule, it is assumed here that sentences in LMedG/EMG comprise a subject NP and a predicate VP in that order. But the *actual* order of constituents in a given sentence is to a large extent determined by the way in which a writer organizes and presents the information contained within it in order to articulate the structure of the larger discourse. In practice, therefore, once the fundamental syntactico-semantic requirements are met (i.e. through the presence of a subject, expressed or understood, and a predicate, optionally in combination with one or more adjuncts), the linear sequencing of constituents is largely controlled by considerations of “topic” and “focus”.

These concepts have been defined in a variety of ways, making reference to prosodic, pragmatic, semantic and/or syntactic factors. Constituents in LMedG/EMG clauses could almost certainly be marked as topical or focal simply by the choice of appropriate prosodic properties. But these factors are no longer accessible to us, though plausible inferences might be made from MG, e.g. that foci were assigned a high level of stress. Topics and foci are therefore identified here by virtue of their *syntactic* prominence, i.e. relocation to positions specifically associated with discourse functions (see below). Functionally, topics establish or re-establish a “theme” (something familiar from the preceding discourse, mutual knowledge or general cultural awareness), which is then commented on by the remainder of the following sentence. Foci, by contrast, identify the most salient, i.e. emphatic or contrastive, piece of information within a particular sentence. When both elements are present, the focus identifies the most salient information within the comment on the topic, thus making a topicalized element structurally more peripheral than a focalized one, cf. [_{TOP} *in Medieval Greek*], [_{FOC} *it's the syntax*] *people find hardest*.

Positions at the left periphery of LMedG/EMG phrases and clauses are structurally prominent and may attract phrasal topics and foci; in clauses there is also a topic position beyond the clause boundary (see Rule (91)). The *informationally* most neutral order of constituents in LMedG/EMG sentences with overt subjects is perhaps V(erb) S(ubject) O(bject(s)), where the fronting of the verb over the subject indicates that the sentence introduces a proposition in which none of its phrasal constituents is given any special prominence (= “something happened”: though V may be understood focally if appropriately stressed):

(ἐν τούτῳ) ἐπαράλαβεν ὁ Ροῦσος τὸ μπαίλατο

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7933

But it is often more natural to identify specific elements as providing some form of linkage to, or contrast with, the previous discourse: [VO]S order, for example, is the result of either topicalizing or focalizing the Verb Phrase by preposing it to the beginning of the

sentence, making the subject correspondingly either salient (“[_{TOP} the one who VO] was S”) or thematic (“[_{FOC} it was VO] that S did”) according to the demands of the context. In the following, for example, the preposed VP is topical, and the subject correspondingly salient:

ὁ βασιλέας τὸν ἔστελνεν ... τὸν τόπον ὅλον τοῦ Μορέως νὰ τὸν ἔχη κερδίσει, κι ἂν μάθῃ ὅτι [ἐκέρδισαν τὸν πόλεμον] οἱ Φράγγοι ... πῶς νὰ τὸν ἀποδέξεται ... ;

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4894–8

Since, however, the grammatically determined order of constituents is Subject + Predicate, with subjects standing preverbally prior to any informationally-driven reordering, it may be unclear in specific cases whether actual “preposing” of the subject has taken place when it is interpreted as topical or focal in context.

Whenever a phrase of any type (represented as XP below) is focalized, the verb is standardly “attracted” to it and the subject (if not itself the focalized item) appears postverbally, giving XP-V-S (cf. “*never* have-I seen ...”). There is also attraction of the verb to preposed interrogative and relative adverbs or pronouns (cf. “*what* have-you done?”, cf. 1.4.1 and 5.3.3) and, in subordinate clauses, to many conjunctions and complementizers (subject to various conditions and limitations, see below and cf. Chapters 2 and 3). Attraction of the verb is not required, however, in the case of topics.

8.1.1 Topicalization

(91) Topicality in MedG/EMG may be marked by “left-dislocation”, i.e. by placing a topic in a position beyond the left periphery of a clause and marking its lack of structural integration with a pause, usually represented graphically by a comma; when the topic is nominal, a referentially resumptive pronoun is normal in the following clause.

Left-dislocated topics are typically used to establish or re-establish an entity as the current discourse theme and to initiate discussion of it. They may be thought of in terms of the schema [XP]_i, [_s ... (*pro*) ...], where *pro* is an element anaphoric to the left-dislocated XP, expressing the “aboutness” link between the two elements. In the case of non-NP topics *pro* is usually null, but with NP topics it usually takes the form of a “resumptive” pronoun, e.g. (as for) *Medieval Greek*, I really like (it). With the passage of time, clitic pronouns become increasingly standard in this construction, and are inflected according to their grammatical function in the clause (usually direct or indirect object); but demonstratives are also used, and in the absence of suitable nominative clitics, topicalized subjects are often “resumed” in this way.

Left-dislocated NPs typically reflect the properties of *pro* in (person), number, gender and case, though they are also sometimes inflected in the nominative instead (*nominativus pendens*), perhaps in recognition of their “external”, subject-like status with respect to the following comment. Verbs are not attracted grammatically to left-dislocated topics, and adjacency of the verb in these structures is pragmatically motivated.

τὰ ὄντα φανερά καὶ μὴ ἔχοντα ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τινὸς οἰανδήποτε ἀντιλογίαν, ἐκεῖνα καὶ λέγω καὶ γράφω ἀφόβως μετὰ πληροφορίας

12th c./11th c., ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 9 314.18–19

- ἡ πίστις ἡ ἀληθινή, οἱ Χριστιανοὶ τὴν ἔχουν 15th c./12th c., *Dig. E* 553
 μίαν ἀπὸ τὰς πρόκριτας εἰς τὴν ἐθάρρει πλέον, παρήγγειλεν [pro] ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ 12th c. or 13th–14th c., *Eisit. f.3r.9–11*
 ὧλους νὰ προλάβει
 ἡ παρθένος Μαρία τε Λουζουνία κόρη τοῦ κυροῦ τοῦ Στύρου, ἐρμάσαν τὴν με τὸν 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron. V* 58.32–3
 ἀφέντην τὸν Μανουήλ
 ὁ,τι ἄρχισε, ἐμένα ποτὲ δὲ μοῦ τὸ ἐμολόγησε! 16th c., *Nov. I* 156.21
 ξίνας δὲ ἀπὸ τοὺς πρώτους τοῦ βασιλέως, ... ἐτοῦτος ... παρευθὺς ἀπαντονάρισεν 17th c., *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 33.2–7
 ὄλες τὲς πρόσκαιρες δόξεις
 σ' ἴντα στάτο εὐρίσκεται, κιανεὶς δὲν τὸ γνωρίζει 18th c./16th–17th c., *KORNAROS, Erot. III.34*

(92) “Simple topics” are attached to the left periphery of a clause or VP and are relatively brief expressions (usually single phrases) that allow no pause before the following comment; clitic pronouns are obligatory with accusative or genitive NP topics (resulting in “clitic doubling”), which distinguishes the construction clearly from focalization (see Rule (93)).

Such non-dislocated topics are typically used to establish or re-establish an already “active” participant as the central theme of the discourse (they are therefore normally definite and may contrast with what precedes), and then to continue or resume discussion of it. Unlike left-dislocated topics, they are structurally integrated phrases at the left periphery of S or VP; for the latter, consider the following example, where the subject ὁ θεός precedes the topic:

- ὁ θεός [TOP τὴν καρδίαν σου] [VP νὰ τὴν πλατύνῃ], καὶ [TOP τὴν χώραν σου] [VP εἰς τὸ ἐν ἑκατὸν νὰ τὴν ποιήσῃ], καὶ [TOP τὸ σπαθὶν σου] [VP εἰς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς σου φοβερόν νὰ τὸ ποιήσῃ]. 1349, Egypt, SCHOPEN/NIEBUHR 1832: IV.14, 98.22–4

Agreement of the topic with the clitic in case (as well as number and gender) is normal, though not quite a requirement, as “hanging nominatives” are occasionally attested in more colloquial texts (unless these are better treated as cases of left-dislocation). Attraction of the verb to a topic at the clause periphery is not grammatically required and adjacency in such cases is again a purely pragmatic matter.

- ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν ἔστελνεν ... [τὸν τόπον ὅλον τοῦ Μορέως] νὰ τὸν ἔχη κερδίσει 14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 4894–5
 εἰ μὲν συμβῇ [ὁ ἀφέντης του] ὁ ἐχθρὸς του νὰ τὸν πιάσῃ ... νὰ τὸν ζητήσῃ ὁ ἀφέντης του καὶ νὰ τὸν ἀνακράξῃ 14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 7572–4
 [τὰ ἀλλάγια ταῦτα] ποῖσε τα 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 6906
 Ὅδυσσεὺς ὁ θαυμαστός μετὰ τοὺς Ἀχαῖτας [τοὺς Τρῶας] ἐτροπεύσαν τοὺς, ἐδιώξαν τοὺς, ὑπάγουν 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 3911–12
 ὁ σὶρ Σιμούν τε Μουντολίφ ὁ καβαλλάρης [τὸν κύρην τῆς Τύρου] ἐσφάξεν τὸν εἰς τὴν ἀναπὰν 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron. V* 58.25–7
 ὁ πόθος τῆς φιλαργυρίας ἀναγκάζει τοὺς νὰ γυρεύουν καθημερινόν τὲς ἀφορμὲς [τὸν πλοῦτόν τοὺς] πῶς νὰ τὸν αὐξάνουσιν 16th c., *Pist. kekoim.* 7–9

NOTES

- (i) Maintenance, or sometimes reduction, of the thematic salience of an entity may also be effected by “clitic doubling”, again without a pause between the NP object and the clitic–verb combination, but in this case the object (always definite) remains in place to the right of V within VP:
 ἐδέσποζέξ το [τὸ βεργίν], καὶ μόνη σου νὰ τὸ ᾄῃς 16th c./13th–14th c., *Velth.* 585
 κι οὐδὲν μᾶς ἀφῃκες [ἐμᾶς] νὰ ἔχωμεν πολεμήσει 14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 5121
 ἐπῆραν καταπάνω τοὺς, τροπεύουν τοὺς [τοὺς Τρῶας] 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 3723
 καὶ ἂν μὲ πιστεύητε [ἐμὲν], ὅς ἐνι Ἀγαμέμνων 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 8469
- (ii) “Right dislocation” is closely related in function, with the difference that the intended referent of a potentially autonomous clitic pronoun is clarified by an appositional NP located beyond the right periphery of the clause, rather as an afterthought (cf. 7.2.2); such right-dislocated items were separated from what precedes by a slight pause, though this is not normally marked graphically; note in particular that the caesura typically precedes them in verse texts, and that parenthetical material (e.g. interjections) sometimes intervenes:
 ἀφῆνω, παρατρέχων τα / [τὰ τότε λαληθέντα] 15th c./13th–14th c., *Liv. E* 3870
 ἀπόκρισιν τοὺς ἔδωκεν / [ἀμφοτέρων τῶν δύο] 14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 3402
 καὶ κονταρέαν τὸν ἔδωκεν, / αἰλί, [τὸν Μαργαρίτην] 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 6862
 καὶ ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς τὴν ἔλεγεν / [τὴν ἡλιογεννημένην] 15th–16th c./14th–15th c., *Achil. N* 1356

8.1.2 Focalization

(93) Focalization may be effected by preposing a phrasal constituent to the left-peripheral position within a clause or phrase; clitic doubling is not allowed (see Rule (92)) and the verb is routinely attracted to the focal element.

Unlike simple topics, foci are contained within, rather than attached to, the associated phrase or clause; this guarantees that they will always stand within the scope of a topic if both items are present. Since they emphasize, contrast or correct (“XP is who/what/where/when [s ...]”), it may be assumed that the key element of a focalized phrase was assigned a higher level of stress than that of non-focalized elements.

In verse texts the frequency of focal preposing is very high, especially that of dependent genitives within NPs, and we must assume that in this specialized literary context the more “marked” construction was often understood as a more or less free variant of the basic one. Consider the following, very typical example:

- [[τοῦ κόσμου γὰρ] τὴν ἡδονὴν] ἠθέλαν κι ἀγαποῦσαν 14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 3171
- In the context of a list of the Franks who built castles as a symbol of their new power, no necessary emphasis or contrast seems to be attached either to the head of the preposed object NP (τὴν ἡδονὴν) or to the preposed genitive NP within it (τοῦ κόσμου); the sentence

seems simply to give a reason why they built their castles: “(for) they wanted and adored the pleasure(s) of the world” (though perhaps they wanted their pleasures now rather than to take their chances in the afterlife). “Focalization” will continue to be used to describe the relevant syntactic phenomenon, but it should be borne in mind that in some contexts there may be no special informational salience.

Focalization in Clauses

- μη τολμήση ... μαρτυρήσειν ... ὅτι [εἰς τὸν κόσμον] ἐμολύνθη
12th c./11th c., ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 31 812.31–2
- [τὸν δὲ πατριάρχην] ἔγραψεν αὐστηρὰς γραφάς
12th c./11th c., ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 31 822.33–4
- [τὸ ἀνωγειρημένον προυκίον] δίδει ὁ ἀνωγειρημένος κύρ Ἰωάννη Κουβαράς τῆς
ἐγκόνης του 1496, Crete, ΜΑΥΡΟΜΑΤΙΣ 1994a: 1, 48.23–4
- [μὲ ξύλα καὶ μὲ λιθάρια] ἐσκότωναν τὸ φουσατόν τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου
16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 20.14 (Konstantinopulos)
- ἦτον ... ἄσχημος τόσον, ὅτι [καμίαν καλοσύνην ἢ ἰσότητά] δὲν εἶχεν τὸ κορμὶν του
16th c., *Vios Aisop.* K 147.7–8
- νὰ πάρη ὁ κύρ Μανόλης τὸ ἥμισον ..., καὶ [τὸ ἕτερον ἥμισον] νὰ πάρη ἡ λεγομένη
κερὰ Θεόκλητη 1596, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 1, 164.23–4

Focalization in Phrases

- ἡμεῖς [_{VP} [οἰκείαις χερσὶν ἡμῶν] ἐδώκαμεν αὐτοῦ τὰ ἀχραντα εὐαγγέλια αὐτοῦ]
1102, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 16, 208–9.20–1
- τὸν ἐκράτει ὁ βασιλεὺς [_{ADVP} [εἰς φυλακὴν του] ἀπέσω] 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7969
- ἀκομή καὶ [_{NP} [τῶν ντεμπιτόρων] τὰ δινέρια]
1523, Crete, ΚΑΚΛΑΜΑΝΙΣ/ΛΑΜΒΑΚΙΣ 2003: Inv. 3, 287.48
- ἦτον ... [_{ADJP} [ἄσχημος] τόσον], ὅτι 16th c., *Vios Aisop.* K 147.7

8.2 Clitic Pronouns and the Verbal Complex

In general, clitics immediately follow the head that governs them:

- AdvP: πῶς ἠπλωσας ἐπάνω μου; 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* I 145
- NP: νὰ το, παιδί μου, ἀγόρασε χορδόκοιλα δουκάτον
15th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* III 117 app. crit. (P)

- AdjP: ὅμως νὰ δικολογηθῶ μὲ ὁμοίόν μου ζῶον 15th c./14th c., *Diig. tetr.* 824

Verbs, however, show a more complex pattern of clitic distribution that requires reference to the notion of the “verbal complex” (VC), in which mood and negative markers, if present in a sentence, cliticize to the verbs they modify and form a structured unit that cannot normally be interrupted by other elements:

| | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|--|
| Mood Marker [ἵνα/νὰ, ἄς] | > Negative [μή(ν)] | > V _{subjunctive/past indicative} |
| | Negative [μή(ν)] | > V _{imperative} |
| | Negative [οὐ(κ), (οὐ)δέν] | > V _{indicative/gerund} |

(The future marker $\theta\epsilon + \nu\alpha > \theta\alpha$ is a late addition to LMedG/EMG (Chapter 1, Rule (6) NOTE (vii)), and is omitted.)

Indicatives, whether as lexical verbs or as auxiliaries, may take a ἵνα/νὰ-complement (cf. $\theta\epsilon\lambda\omega \text{ ἵνα/νὰ } =$ “I want to X” or “I will/shall X”: $\theta\epsilon \nu\alpha > \theta\alpha$ represents the formal reduction of such a structure); only one of the two verbs can then be negated, and in periphrases this can only be the auxiliary. Items other than V are present only when their contribution is required for semantic or syntactic reasons, and even the otherwise obligatory mood marker ἵνα/νὰ is not required with μή(ν) in prohibitions containing subjunctives (1.3, Rule (14)) or with conjunctions like (ἐ)άν/ὅταν in generic/future-referring clauses containing subjunctive verbs (3.3.1 and 3.4.3). V is therefore often the initial, and indeed only, element in the VC of a given sentence.

As noted above, a preposed focal (FOC), interrogative (Q) or relative (REL) constituent regularly “attracts” the verb along with any associated items of the VC (leaving overt subjects in post-verbal position):

| | |
|-------------|--|
| FOC/Q/REL + | [MM > μή(ν) > V] ... NP _{subj} |
| | [οὐ(κ)/(οὐ)δέν > V] ... NP _{subj} |

“Modal” conjunctions, i.e. those like (ἐ)άν/ὅταν that do not require the co-presence of ἵνα/νὰ with subjunctive verb forms, also attract V in most cases. This began in generic/future-referring clauses containing subjunctive verbs, but more general attraction of V developed early with these conjunctions, even in past- or present-time contexts with non-modal verb forms. Later, non-modal conjunctions and complementizers such as ὅτι, πῶς etc. started to follow the pattern, albeit more sporadically, with “traditional” ὅτι showing significantly more resistance than “innovative” πῶς.

Clitic pronouns intersect with the VC and constitute the one major exception to the rule that its components cannot be separated one from another.

(94) An object clitic stands immediately adjacent to the verb that governs it:

- if V is initial in VC and nothing precedes (i.e. within VP or S as appropriate), the clitic follows V;
- if V is initial in VC but other constituents precede (i.e. within VP or S as appropriate), the clitic precedes V;
- if V is non-initial in VC, the clitic precedes V.

The basic rule for most of the period covered by this Grammar is that clitics cannot stand before a verb in VP-initial or clause-initial position but may appear before a verb when something else precedes *them*, whether other elements of the VC or, when the VC comprises V alone, co-constituents of the relevant containing category.

This requirement is further shaped by the general principle that clitics standardly appear in "second position" in a containing phrase or clause, a principle ("Wackernagel's Law") that had continued into MedG from Antiquity. Since clitics must be adjacent to the verb, and since clitics normally stand in second position in a VP or clause, it follows that a VC containing only V will typically be either the first item in VP or S, with a following clitic, or the third item in VP or S, with a preceding clitic.

The position of a clitic vis-à-vis a verb that stands alone in its VC is therefore determined by what counts as a "preceding", i.e. effectively phrase- or clause-initial, constituent for the purposes of clitic placement:

- The set of left-peripheral constituents that routinely attract the verb, namely focal elements, question words/phrases, relative pronouns/complementizers and "modal" complementizers, are regularly counted as initial items for the purposes of clitic placement:

[_{S/VP} X(P) cl+V ...]

- Non-modal conjunctions and complementizers may be treated either as the initial elements of clauses (with attraction of V) or as elements that introduce clauses but are not themselves part of them (without attraction of V). The result is variation in the placement of the clitic with respect to V, though the clitic itself remains second in the clause in both cases; in general, traditional complementizers and conjunctions (C), e.g. *ὅτι* vs. *πὼς*, *εἰ* vs. *(ἐ)άν* etc., resist inclusion in the clause much more strongly:

C included: [_S C [cl+V] ...]

C excluded: C [_S [V+cl] ...]

- Subjects are regularly adjacent to the VC (the initial item in VP) but do not themselves attract the verb; in the absence of items that can attract it, V therefore remains in place as the head of VP or is fronted over the subject (see 8.1). In combination with a subject, a VC containing only V can satisfy the requirements of clitic placement in two ways: either V stands initially in VP and the clitic follows in second (phrasal) position, or the subject is counted as the first clausal constituent and the clitic precedes V in second (clausal) position:

Second position in VP: [_S NP_{SUBJ} [_{VP} V+cl ...]]

Second position in clause: [_S NP_{SUBJ} [_{VP} cl+V ...]]

- Standardly, simple topics are attached to the left periphery of S or VP and do not attract V. They do not therefore count as the initial elements of these categories, and clitics follow an initial V. From around the 16th c., however, simple topics also come to be treated as initial items, with the clitic then following before V; this development is again associated with attraction, which guarantees that the topic and its clitic double will be adjacent:

Topic attached: [NP_{TOP} [_{S/VP} V+cl ...]]

Topic included: [_{S/VP} NP_{TOP} cl+V ...]

- The least integrated elements of a sentence (such as left-dislocated topics and non-focal adverbial adjuncts, including adverbial clauses) do not normally attract V or count as initial elements for the purposes of clitic placement. The clause proper therefore begins with whatever comes after such items, and if this is V, the clitic then follows:

XP_{TOP}/ADVP/S_{ADV} [_S V+cl ...]

But "linking" adverbials (ADVP_L), i.e. those with demonstrative/anaphoric force or that denote a place, time, reason etc. that connects the sentence to the preceding discourse, begin to count as clause-initial and attract the verb quite early, with the clitic then preceding V; adverbial clauses (S_{ADV}) and left-dislocated topics (XP_{TOP}) start to be drawn into this pattern from around the 16th c.:

[_S XP_{TOP}/S_{ADV}/ADVP_L cl+V ...]

Wherever a choice is available, the frequency of the preverbal option increases over time, albeit with some delay in southern and more peripheral regions; in Cyprus, however, the earlier medieval patterns of clitic placement are largely preserved even in the modern dialect. But both clitic positions remain in play in LMedG and the freedom is particularly valuable in verse texts, where it provides different metrical possibilities.

In SMG (and most modern dialects) pre-V position has been generalized with indicatives, even though this results in clause-initial/phrase-initial clitics. Such extension of the pre-verbal option must have begun in the early 16th c. with the progressive shift in the status of various elements that literally "began" sentences but had not previously counted as "initial" for the purposes of clitic placement. As these came to be included among the set of legitimate initial items, clitics then followed in "second position" before the verb. Consider, for example, sentences with left-dislocated, or perhaps simple, topics (the distinction may be hard to make when a topicalized phrase contains modifiers):

τὰ ὁσπότηιά της τὰ πατρικά (,) τὰ ἔκαμε μοναστήριον γυναικεῖον

1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 7, 16.1–2

τὸ πέρα νεόκαστρο τοῦ Ναυπάκτου (,) τὸ ἐπολέμησε καὶ ἐπῆρέ το ἀπὸ σπαθίου

16th c., Constantinople, SCHREINER 1975/79: 63A, 484.10.1–3

Given the grammatical optionality of the material to their left, these clitics could now reasonably be seen as "initial" in their clauses, with initial pre-V position then quickly generalized to clauses without left-peripheral constituents. Early examples include:

τοὺς δίνουν τὸν μόλον εἰς τὸ τέλος τοῦ ρεπάρου κατὰ τὰ παλαιὰ μακελλεῖά

1561, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969a: 1, 35.10–11

σὲ παρακαλοῦμε νὰ εἴμεσταν Φράγκοι λίμπεροι

1571, Mani, CHASIOTIS 1970: 6.1, 242.41–2

8.2.1 V Initial in VC

No Preceding Constituents: V+cl

- ἔγραψές με, περὶ τὰς ἑορτὰς ἵνα σε γράψω τὴν εἴδησιν
12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 4 212.29
- ὡς ὀρνεον πετάζεται, δοκοῦν τον ὄλα ὁμάλιν
13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 129
- βλέπουν σε τὰ ψυχάρια μου καὶ ἔχουν σε ὡς αὐθέντην
14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* 1 88
- νὰ σε δώσουν ἐκ τῆς γιστέρνας τὸ νερόν, χρήζω το διὰ ἰατρείαν μου
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8211–12
- ὀρίζει γὰρ καὶ εἶπε τον
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4563
- ἐπῆρεν το ὁ ἔβδομος ἄνθρωπος post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 38, 34.4
- καὶ ψηλαφώντας την ἠβλέπει
16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 329.35
- πρόβαλε, δῶσ' τῶνε τὸ φῶς, σὰν ἥσου μαθημένη
17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, *Katz.* I.15

Focal, Interrogative or Relative Elements Preceding: (cl+V)

Focal

- τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον μοι εἶπαν καὶ οἱ ἕτεροι ἄρχοντες
1136?/1151?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 19, 419.5
- πολλὰ τὸν ἔχω εὐκαιρητὴν ἐκεῖνον τὸν γονέα ὅπου
13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 208–9
- ὁρμον σε δίδω εἰς τὴν ὑπεραγίαν δέσποιναν Θεοτόκον, ὅτι
1360, Constantinople, KODER et al. 2001: 236, 362.18–20
- λεπτομερῶς τοῦ ἐμήνυσεν
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7825
- τοῦ Βαλδουῆ τοῦ ἔποικαν τοῦ βασιλέως τῆς Πόλης
16th c./14th c., *Chron. Mor.* P 1098
- τὴν χάριν σου μ' ἀπόστειλε ἐτούτην τὴν ἡμέρα
15th c., CHOUNMNOS, *Kosmog.* 2
- λέγοντες ... καὶ ὅτι τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν τοῦ ἐπαρέδωκε
16th c., *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* (1572) 107–9

Interrogative

- κύρι, πῶς τὸ λέγεις;
14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* I 44
- ποιὸν ἱμάτιον μὲ ἔρραψας; ποιὸν δίμιτον μὲ ἐποίκεις;
14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* I 46
- πῶς νὰ εὕρω μ' ἐρμήνευσε τῆς Δυστυχίας τὸ κάστρο
14th c./13th–14th c., *Log. parig.* L 123
- ἐκάτζα καὶ ἐξηγήτην του ... πῶς τὴν ἐχαιρέτησα καὶ πῶς μὲ ἀπηλογήθη
15th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* E 3778–9
- καὶ ἄκου τὸ τί μοῦ ἐσύνηυχεν
16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 28
- ἀπὸ ποῦ τοῦ ἤλθαν ἐτοῦτα ἐτουτουνοῦ;
17th c., KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Mark. 6.2
- ποῖος τὸ κύτταξε τὸ σιδηρόσυρμα;
1696, Ochrid, MERTZIOS 1947a: 9, 214.11

Relative

- τὸ ράσον τὸ σὲ δίδουσιν καὶ ἐκεῖνο ψυχικόν ἐνι
14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* IV 472.1 app. crit. (H)
- σὲ παρακαλοῦν ... μὴ τὸ δεχτῆς εἰς βάρος σου ἐτοῦτο ὅπου σὲ λέγουν
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7902–3
- τὸ ὠραιόκαρπον ὁ Θεὸς ὅπου σὰς λέγει, δένδρον τὸ ὑψηλότατον ὅπου σὰς εἶπε
φεύγειν, φάγε καὶ δὸς καὶ τοῦ Ἀδάμ
15th c., CHOUNMNOS, *Kosmog.* 69–71
- εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ ... ἐσέβη ὁ Ματθίας ὅπου τοῦ ἔπεσεν ὁ κλῆρος
16th c., SANKTAM., *Praxeis apost.* 15.8–9
- ἀφήνει ... τὸ ἄερε τοῦ Κωσταντῆ τοῦ σπιτιοῦ, τοῦ ὁποῖου τοῦ εἶχεν δώσει ἡ
αὐτὴ προικίο
1587, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 145, 115.9–11
- ἐβουλεύθη κακὰ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ὅπου τὸν ἀνέθρεψεν
16th c., DIONYS., *Istor.* 252.13

NOTES

- (i) Imperatives normally follow the general rule, cf. δῶσ' τῶνε (CHORTATSI, *Katz.* I.15) with τὴν χάριν σου μ' ἀπόστειλε (CHOUNMNOS, *Kosmog.* 2) above, but those with a preceding constituent occasionally retain the order V + cl:
μεγαλοψύχως δέξαι με
14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* II 19.6 app. crit. (H)
- (ii) There are no examples in the database of gerunds with preverbal clitics as these always stand initially in their respective phrases/clauses.

“Modal” Conjunctions Preceding (both modal and non-modal verbs): cl+V

- ἐξ ἀρχῆς πολλὰ ἠντεστάτην, ὅταν τὸ ἤκουσα
12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 9 314.5–6
- καὶ ἂν μ' εὐρησ χρώμενον κακῶς εἰς ταῦτα τὰ με δίδεις, τότε καὶ κατονείδιζε
14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* II 67–8
- ἂν μὲ ἔποισαν τεχνίτην, ... νὰ ἔμαθα τέχνην κλαπωτήν
14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* III 89–91
- καὶ πρὶν τὸ πιάσω χάνεται καὶ φεύγει ἐκ τὸ σκουτέλλιν
14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* IV 242
- καὶ ἀπέκει, ὅταν τοὺς εἶπη ἐκεῖνος, νὰ σηκωθῶσιν
1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 287.17–18
- ὅταν σὲ ταχθοῦν σιτάριν, τὸ σακί σου καὶ τρέχε
16th c./?, *Paroim.* H 53 app. crit.
- ἂν τὸν πάρη, θέλ' εἴσταιν ἀφορισμένη
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 34.3–4

NOTE

- (i) The presence of καὶ with “modal” (and indeed other) conjunctions normally blocks attraction:
φοβούμενη μήπως καὶ καλέση τηνε ὁ Θεός
1596, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 1, 164.5–6
- ἀνίσως καὶ βάλουν τα τὰ περισσότερα τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀπὸ κεῖνα ..., ὁμπλεγάρεται ...
νὰ τὰ δίδη τῶν ἀνθρώπων πωλητάδω
1600, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 82, 99.10–11

"Non-modal" Conjunctions/Complementizers Preceding: V+cl and cl+V

V+cl

- ἔξω λέγεις ὅτι ἔχεις με παιδὶν 1360, Constantinople, KODER et al. 2001: 236, 362.14–15
 κ' εἶπεν ὅτι ὠφελεῖ με 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8213
 ἄλλ' ὅτε εὗρουν σε μικρὸν πταίσιμον εἰς τὸ σπῖτι καὶ κλέψης τίποτα νὰ φᾶς
 15th c./14th c., *Diig. tetr.* 220–1 app. crit. (C)
 ἐτοῦτο τὸ παρὸν ψαλτήριον ἐνι τοῦ κύρ παπᾶ Ἰωάννου ... ὅτι ἐγόρασά το ἀπὸ τῆν
 Λευκωσίαν 15th c., Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 91, n. 1.1–2
 ὁ νοῦς μου οὐδὲν ἔναι μετ' ἐμέναν, ὅχι διὰ ζημίαν ἀμὴ διὰ τὰ παιδία, ὅτι ἀγαπῶ τα
 15th c., Thrace, DARROUZÈS 1963: 8, 102.20
 νὰ γλυώσω τὸν ἄθρωπο δς ἐπλάσα ... ὅτι ἐμετάνοιωσα ὅτι ἐκαμά τους
 16th c., *Pent. Gen.* 6.7
 φέρε μού το σπουδαχτικά στὸ σπῖτι μας, γιατί ἀντιμεύω σοῦ το
 17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Katz.* III.149–50

NOTE

- (i) The absence of πὼς from this set of examples is probably not accidental, and indicative of the extent to which such "innovative" non-modal conjunctions had been assimilated to the distribution of modal ones.

cl+V

- ὅτε καὶ με ἔλαβεν εἰς νόμιμον γυνὴν εἰς τὴν χώραν Παγούσας
 1171, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. VII: 4, 362.9–363.1
 κὶ ὁ ρῆγας, ὡς τὸ ἤκουσεν, μεγάλως τὸ ἐλυπήθην 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7827
 νὰ σὲ δώσουν ἐκ τῆς γιστέρας τὸ νερόν, ... διατὶ με τὸ ὠρίσε ὁ ἱατρός κ' εἶπεν ὅτι
 ὠφελεῖ με 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8211–13
 νὰ ἡξεύρετε ὅτι μὰς ἔστειλεν ὁ μέγας αὐθέντης 1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.8–9
 ὥσπερ τὸ λέγει ὁ ἅγιος Ἀμβρόσιος ὁ Μεδιολάνων εἰς τὸ χρονικὸ του
 16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 335.39–40
 καὶ ἐξεθύμανεν εἰς τοὺς στρατιώτας, πὼς τὲς ἄφησαν καὶ ἔκαμαν τοιοῦτον μέγα
 πρᾶγμα 16th c., *Martyr. Vlas.* 247.12–13
 καὶ λὲν πὼς τὸ 'χει φυσικὸ ν' ἀδυναμίση τόσα 18th c./16th–17th c., KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.36

Subjects Preceding: V+cl and cl+V

V+cl

- καὶ ὁ φόβος ἔξυπνᾷ σε 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 170
 ὡς ἐκατεστάθησαν ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμερῶν μας, ὁ Θεὸς ἐλευθερώσῃ σε
 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 215–16
 διατὶ ὁ νόμος λέγει το καὶ ἡ φύσις ἀπαιτεῖ το 13th–14th c./12th c., *Spaneas* P 165

- ἐγὼ θεωρῶ ὀφθαλμοφανῶς, ὁ ρῆγας ἀγαπᾷ σας, κ' ἔχει σας εἰς προσορώτησιν κ' εἰς
 τὴν βουλὴν του πρώτους 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8517–18
 ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ Πρίamos μηνᾷ σε μετ' ἐμένα 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1366
 ὁ σουλτάνος ἀπολογήθην του καὶ μήνυσέν του με τοὺς δυὸ του μαντατοφόρους
 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 20.26–7
 μοναῦτα ὁ πατέρας τῆς ἐππρέν την εἰς τὸ σπῖτιν του με μεγάλην λύπην
 16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 6.8–9
- cl+V
- ἐγὼ φοφῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι με σπαστρέουν 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* IV 393
 ἀτὸς του ὁ μισρ Ντζεφρὲς τοῦ ἔδωκεν τὰ πιττάκια 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 328
 καὶ ἡ βουλή του τοῦ εἶπασιν τοῦ νὰ ἔχη ἀποστείλει ἄνθρωπον φρονιμώτατον
 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7831–2
 τὸ θράσος τὸ ἐνίκησεν, πηδᾷ, καβαλικεύει 16th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* O 79
 καὶ ἡ Θεοτόκος τῆς λέγει 16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 331.5
 τινὲς εἶπαν ὅτι ὁ Πατριάρχης τοῦ ἐπαρήγγειλε νὰ ὑπάγῃ διὰ βοήθεια
 16th c., *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* (1572) 70
 ἐξέβα ἔξω, ὅτι ὁ βασιλεὺς σε καλεῖ! 16th c., *Martyr. Vlas.* 245.16
 ἀμμή οἱ Ρωμαῖοι τὸ λέγουσι ἄλλῶς 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 27.22

Simple Topics Preceding: V+cl and (later) cl+V

V+cl (standard)

- ψυχὴ μου, μακροθύμησον, τὸν κόσμον ἔμαθες τον 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 308
 τοὺς Τρῶας ἐτροπεύσαν τους, ἐδιώξαν τους, ὑπάγουν 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 3912
 αὐτὰ οὖν ὅλα ἐνθυμᾶσθὲ τα νὰ τοὺς νουθετήσετε καὶ νὰ τοὺς παιδεύσετε καλὰ
 1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 287.22–288.1
 τὸν Θούμαν ἔφερέν τον μετὰ τῆς ἡ κυρᾶ ἡ ρήγαινα, ἡ Ελένα
 16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 4.18–19
 καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους καβαλλάρηδες ἐφάνην τους νὰ τοῦ μηνύσει ὁ ρῆγας, νὰ ῥτη
 ὁμπρός του 16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 22.6–7
 τὸ ὅποιον ἐτοῦτο ἀκούοντάς το ἐγὼ, ὁ εὐχέτης τῆς μεγάλης σου βασιλείας, οὐ δ'
 ὅλως τὸ ἐπίστευσα 1655, Moldavia, TCHENTSOVA 2004: 9, 77.13–14
 ἀκόμη καὶ τὸ ἄλλον ἡμισον ἐχάρισέν το ὁ Διενής 1665, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 7, 19.11
 λοιπὸν τὸ γράμμα πέμπω το 17th c., PROSOPSAS, *Peri tyflou* Dedic. 13
- cl+V (later, from ca. 16th c.)
- καὶ ὅλους τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τους ἐνίκα 16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 278.18–19
 καὶ τὸ ἄλλο τὸ ἔλεγαν δένδρον τοῦ φεγγαρίου 16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 335.21–2
 καὶ τοῦτο το κάμνει ὁ Θεὸς πολλὰς φορές 16th c., DIONYS., *Istor.* 254.16

τοῦτα τὰ εἶπεν εἰς ὅλους 17th c./16th c., MOREZINOS, *Klini* 55.14
 αὐτὴ τὴν βρῦση τὴν ἔφκιασε με ἐδικές του ἐξόδεψες ὁ Ἰζάρ μπέτης
 18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 46.26–47.1

Adverbials/Adverbial Clauses Preceding: V+cl and (in part later) cl+V

V+cl: Adverbials

ὁκάτι τώρα βλέπω σε, πολλά εἶσαι βαρεμένη 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 304
 εἰ δὲ πολλάκις δόξει τὴν καὶ φθάσει ὁ καρκατσάς της 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* I 35
 ἀλήθεια, δίδεις με πολλά 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* II 24
 ἀπὸ μακρὰ στριγγίζω τον 14th c./13th–14th c., *Log. parag.* L 71
 ἐκ μέρους γὰρ τοῦ ἀφέντου του ἐπαρακάλεσέ τον νὰ ὀρίση, νὰ τὸν δώσουσι νερόν ἐκ
 τὴν γιστέρναν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8220–1
 ὀλίγον φέρνει με ὁ θυμὸς νὰ βάλῳ νὰ σὲ σύρουν ἐκ τῶν ἀλόγων τὰς οὐράς, ὅλους νὰ
 σᾶς κρεμάσουν 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1465–6
 κ' ἐκεῖ εἶχαν τον πολλά ἀκριβόν 16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 14.17
 τὸ λοιπόν, λέγε μου με δίχως φόβον πῶς ἐπλανέθηκες τέτοιος λογῆς
 17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 34.20–1
 ἀκόμη ἔδωσέν της καὶ ἄσπρα πεντακόσια 1669, Athens, KAMBOUROGLOU 1889: 184.10

V+cl: Adverbial Clauses

ὁ προρρηθεὶς ὁ Πιτζούλος, ὅτε καὶ με ἔλαβεν εἰς νόμιμον γυνὴν εἰς τὴν χώραν
 Ραγούσας, δέδωκέν μοι ἓν οἶκημα 1171, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. VII: 4, 362.8–363.1
 καθεὶς ὡς ἐμαγεύρευσεν, εὕρισκει το ἐμπροσθέν του 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 366
 θωρῶντα τον ὁ ἀποστολὴς, ἐποῖκεν του πολλές τιμές 16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 14.17–18
 οὐλον τὸν κόσμον θρέφει τον τὸ θάρος κ' ἐγὼ 'φότης ἐβίγλισα 'χ τὸν Πόθον ... ἔχασά
το κι ἄξάψα γοιὸν καμίνιν 16th c./15th–16th c., *Cypr. Canz.* 109.19–22
 ἂν ἡμου καὶ στὴν καδένα, ἦσπουν τη νὰ φύγω 17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, *Katz.* III.173–4

cl+V: Adverbials (mainly with a linking function)

τότε με λογάρισε καλῶς ..., καὶ ἂν μ' εὕρης χρώμενον κακῶς εἰς ταῦτα τὰ με δίδεις,
 τότε με καταδίκησε, [τότε κατὰγνωσέ με] 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* II 66–8 app. crit. (H)
 ὁ μισρ Ντζᾶς ὁ Τζαρδερούς, κοντόσταυλος ὁ μέγας (οὕτως τὸν ὠνομάζασιν στὸ
 πριγκιπάτο ὅλο ...) 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7820–1
 διὰ τοῦτο σε παρακαλοῦν οἱ λῆζιοι τοῦ Μορέως 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7902
 καὶ ὥσπερ τὰς γυναῖκας των οὕτως με ἀγαποῦσιν 15th c./14th c., *Diig. tetr.* 767
 εἶτα τὸν εἶπε καὶ ἄς τὰ πολλαπλασιάσῃ με ἕτερα ε', εἴθ' οὕτως πέ τον
 post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 38, 34.4–6

λάκκον βαθὺν ἐσκάψασιν, ὡς κάμνουν τοῦ κλημάτου κ' ἐκεῖ μέσα μ' ἐβάλασιν, εἰς
 τόπον τοῦ χωμάτου 16th c./15th c., *Om. Nokr. Vas.* 69–70
 ὁμοίως τοῦ ἀφίνει καὶ τὸ σπῖτι του ... ἀκόμη τοῦ ἀφίνει τοῦ αὐτοῦ Νικολάου
 χωράφια πινακίων δώδεκα 1583, Zakynthos, ZERLENDIS 1918d: A, 298.19–299.2
 ἔλα νὰ πᾶμε εἰς τὸ σπῖτι μου, νὰ σταθῆς νὰ 'ρδινιάσω τὰ παιδιὰ μου, τὸ σπῖτι μου
 ..., κι ἀπ' ἐκεῖ με ἔπαρε 16th c., *Nov. II* 162.29–31

cl+V: Adverbial Clauses (mostly late, from ca. 16th c.)

καὶ λάφιν δὲν μ' ἐγλύτωνεν ..., τὸ νὰ τὸ δῶ, τὸ δόξευα κ' εἶχα το σκοτωμένον
 16th c./15th c., *Om. Nokr. Vas.* 45–6
 ἂν ἤθελες βάλῃς λίτρες δέκα σαλμίτριο, τοῦ βάνεις δύο κουταλιές στάχτη
 15th–16th c., Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 66.22
 ὡς ἔφθασαν εἰς τὸ σπήλαιον, τοῦ εἶπασιν 16th c., *Martyr. Vlas.* 245.15
 ἡ ἐπιθυμία, ἐνεργῶντας εἰς τοῦ λόγου σας, σᾶς ἐσηκῶνει ἡδονήν
 17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 34.11–12
 ἔστοντας λοιπὸν νὰ εὕρισκεται ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς αὐτεῖνην τὴν δεινὴν πλάνην καὶ
 ἀπάτην, τοῦ γεννᾶται ἓνα παιδί 17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 37.31–2
 τὸν καιρὸ ποὺ ὑπανδρεύθηκε τὴν μακαρίαν καὶ ἀγιοτάτη ὁσίαν Θεοδώραν, τοῦ
ἐφανερώθηκε ὁ Σατανὰς καὶ τὸν ἔβαλε εἰς πείραξη
 18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 25.6–9

Left-Dislocated Topics Preceding: V+cl and (later) cl+V

V+cl (standard)

τὴν ἐπιστολὴ τὴν σὲ ἔπεμψα με τὸν Θεόδωρον νὰ τὴν πέμψεις τὸν ἀββᾶν Γεράσιμον,
ἀνάγνωσέ την 12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 9 314.15–16
 τὴν μίαν κασέλαν τὴν μικρὴν ἀφίω την τὸν ἱατρὸν τὸν κύρ Μανουήλ
 ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 81.37
 τοὺς κόντους καὶ καβαλλάριους, ἀπεχαιρέτησέν τους 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8610
 καὶ ἐκεῖνα τὰ ποιεῖς ἐσύ λέγεις τα πρὸς ἐμένα; 15th c./14th c., *Diig. tetr.* 164
 τὸν νοῦν μου τὸν ἀδούλωτον, ἐκατεδούλωσές τον
 15th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* L 743 transcr. (Panayotopoulou/Lendari)
 ἄπε τὸ μοῦ μηνᾶς ὅτι εἶσαι γεῖτος μου καὶ νὰ ἔχωμεν ἀγάπην κατὰ τὸν ὀρισμὸν τοῦ
 θεοῦ καὶ νὰ ἔχωμεν δῆμιαν μεσὸν μας, τζετιάζω το
 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 20.27–9
 τὴ δοξεμένη μου καρδιά σκίζου καὶ σφάζου μου τη
 17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, *Erof.* II.118

cl+V (later, from ca. 16th c.)

τὰ ὁποῖα ἄνωθεν δουκάτα εἴκοσι, τὰ ἔλαβεν χεροδοτὰ σῶα
 1581, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 25, 35.14–15

ταῦτα πάντα ὅσα με ἄφηκεν ὁ πατέρας μου ὁ Σεραφεῖμ, τὰ ἐπερίλαβα ἐγὼ ἡ Ζαφείρω
1606, Serpes region, ODORICO 1998: 26, 102.17–18

ἐκεῖνοι δὲ οἱ προλεγόμενοι ἄνδρες ..., ἐκείνην τὴν κακωσύνην ὅπου εἴχασιν μέσα τως,
τὴν φανερώουσι 17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas*. 40.12

τὰ ρούχα καὶ τὲς κασέλες μέρτσα, τὰ ἔλαβα καὶ κρῖμα εἰς τὸν κόπον
1696, Ochrid, MERTZIOS 1947a: 9, 214.10

8.2.2 V Non-Initial in VC: cl+V

Mood Marker Preceding

καὶ κἂν ἄς τὸν ἐκέρδησε καὶ κἂν ἄς τὸν ἐχάρης, ἄς εἶδες κἂν ἐνύπνιον γλυκύν κατὰ
τὸν ὕπνον! 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 167–8

ποῦ ἦτον εἰς τὸν ἐσπερινόν, ἄς τὸν ἐκβάλουν ἔξω 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. IV* 49

καὶ γὰρ ἐζήτησεν τὸ ἡμῖσι τῆς χώρας καὶ νὰ τοῦ τὸ ἐδώκασιν
1288, Cos, NYSTAZOPOULOU-PELEKIDOU 1980: 75, 228.22–3

τί νὰ σέ λέγω τὰ πολλὰ πολλάκις νὰ βαρεῖσαι; 16th c./14th c., *Chron. Mor.* P 1092

ἄς βάλῃ ἄλλα τόσα καὶ ἕτερα εἴ καὶ ἄς τὰ σουμμάρη. εἶτα τὸν εἶπε καὶ ἄς τὰ
πολλαπλασιάσῃ με ἕτερα εἴ, εἶθ' οὕτως πέ τον
post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 38, 34.5–6

τὸν δίδομεν ἄδειαν, τὸ πεζούλιον ὅπερ εὐρίσκεται ἐκεῖ ὅπου τρέχει, ἦγουν ὅπου
ἐβγαίνει τὸ νερόν, νὰ τὸ ὀρίζῃ καὶ νὰ φικιάνη καὶ τὸ νερό ἐὰν χαλάσῃ τίποτε
1582, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 58, 179.5–6

καὶ τὰ μετρητὰ τοῦ πεθεροῦ μου, με πρῶτο καράβι ὅπου θέλει ἔρθει νὰ μᾶς τὰ
στεῖλῃς 1697, Kastoria, MERTZIOS 1947a: 64, 240.4–5

Negative Preceding

ψεύδεται, φλυαρεῖ, μὴ τὸν πιστεύῃς! 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 133

μεγαλοψύχως δέξαι με καὶ μὴ με ἀγανακτήσῃς 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. II* 19.6 app. crit. (H)

τὸ δὲ ὁμάτζιο καὶ λιζιαν, τὸ ὀρίζει νὰ ἔχουν ποιήσει τοῦ μπάιλου ἐκείνου ντὲ Σουλῆ,
ποτέ οὐδὲ τὸ κάμνουν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7874–5

διὰ τοῦτο σὲ παρακαλοῦν οἱ λιζίοι τοῦ Μορέως μὴ τὸ δεχτῇς εἰς βάρος σου ἐτοῦτο
ὅπου σὲ λέγουν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7902–3

αὐτοὶ οὐδὲν τὸ ἠθέλησαν, ἡλλαξάν το δὲ καὶ ἀπῆραν τὸ ἀμπέλιον τοῦ γιγαλοῦ
14th–15th c., Athos, LEFORT et al. 1995: 95, 148.8

ἂν οὐ σέ ᾔαπουν τὰ πολλὰ, τώρα σκοτώσει σέ ᾔα
15th–16th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* N 1571

μὴ σοῦ φαίνεται παράξενο ἂν ἐσκοτίσθηκα ἀπὸ τὴν πολλὴν λάμψιν
16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 329.30–1

καὶ ὅσες γραφές τοῦ ἔπεμψε ἡ γυναῖκα του, δὲν τὲς τοῦ ἔδωκεν
1571, Unknown, CATALDI PALAU 2003: 8, 481.11–12

καὶ ἃ δὲν τὸ πιστεύῃ ὁ ἄνωθεν μισερ-Τζώρτζης, ὁμπλεγάρεται ὁ ἄνωθεν μισερ-
Μαθιὸς νὰ πὰ τὸ ξανακαμπανίσου στοῦ ἄνωθεν Καρβουνάρη
1609, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 626, 547.15

NOTES

- (i) The traditional negative marker οὐ(κ) and its verb are often treated as a single unit within the verbal complex, thus forcing the clitic either to precede the negative or to follow the verb according to the immediate contextual requirements. This occurs mostly in early texts:

τόπον ἐκ τόπου μεριμνᾷς καὶ τόπος οὐ χωρεῖ σε 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 156
γοργὸν ἂν σε οὐκ ἐκβάλουσιν, ἐκεῖ νὰ ἐξεψυχῇς 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 229
τί τοὺς οὐ θάπτω ὥστε ζῶ καὶ φεύγω ἀπὸ τὴν Πόλιν ... ;
14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. II* 26.11 app. crit. (H)

- (ii) The presence of a connective in second position between a negative and its verb may override the expected clitic placement:

μὴ οὖν ἀποχωρίσῃς τοὺς μηδ' ἀποπέμψῃς μᾶλλον 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. I* 12

- (iii) The emphatic negative μηδέ regularly stands immediately before the word that it emphasizes and may prevent clitic attraction if this is the verb:

καὶ μηδέ ἐπιχειρῶ το 12th c. or 13th–14th c., *Eisit.* f.8v.4

We may contrast examples where the presence of a focus other than V allows for the regular distribution:

τὸ δὲ θεὸς ἐσύ, νὰ μηδὲ ἄλλοῦ τὸ ποίῃς 16th c./15th c., FALIEROS, *Log. did.* 24

- (iv) A negative marker may combine with an intensifying adverbial to form a single element (= “not at all” etc.):

τὸ ὅποῖον ἐτοῦτο ἀκούοντάς το ἐγὼ, ὁ εὐχέτης τῆς μεγάλης σου βασιλείας, οὐ δ'
ὅλως τὸ ἐπίστευσα 1655, Moldavia, TCHENTSOVA 2004: 9, 77.13–14

Mood Marker and Negative Preceding

καὶ λυτρωθοῦμεν τον γοργόν, νὰ μὴ μᾶς παραβλέπῃ 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. IV* 528

τοῦτο τὸ βιβλίον ἐνι τοῦ παπᾶ Μιχαὴλ τοῦ Πρακανᾶ καὶ εἴ τις νὰ τὸ πάρῃ νὰ
διαβάσῃ καὶ νὰ μηδὲν τὸ στρέψῃ, νὰ ἔχῃ τὰς ἀράς τῶν τη' θεοφόρων πατέρων
14th c., Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 99, 99.1–3

ἐγδύνουνται ... ἀποὺ τὰ σπῖτιαν καὶ ἀπὸ ὅλα τως τὰ δικαιώματα σὰν νὰ μὴν τὰ
θέλασιν ἔχει ποτέ 1592, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 19, 74.13–14

παρακαλῶ τὴ πανιερότη σου νὰ μὴ τὸ πάρῃς σὲ βάρη νὰ μοῦ πέψῃς μιὰ φλέτσα ...
καὶ κακοφαίνεται μου καὶ γράφεις μου νὰ μὴ τόνε δεκτῶ
1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 4, 171.10–14

8.3 Clitic Pronouns and Periphrastic Verb Forms

Perfects and pluperfects formed with *ἔχω* + passive participle (typically a southern feature, cf. 4.4.4), treat the pronoun as the object of the auxiliary. This is expected, since the origin of the construction is an expression in which the participle serves as an object predicate: "I have it + written" etc. The placement of the clitic vis-à-vis *ἔχω* then follows Rule (94) (i.e. in conformity with the various constraints on what can count as an initial constituent for the purposes of clitic placement):

- θωρῶ τὸν θάνατον καὶ ἔχει σας κερδεμένους 16th c./15th c., LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 61
 μ' ὄλο πού τόσοι βασιλιοὶ τὴν ἔχου ζητημένη 17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Erof.* 1.534
 βοήθεια ἀπὸ ἄρματα, ὅπου οἱ Τούρκοι τοὺς ἔχουν στερεμένα
 1609, Cyprus, CHASIOTIS 1972: 35, 59.7

For examples of pluperfects formed with *εἶχα* + infinitive (which are ultimately derived from conditionals), see below.

From the semantic point of view, futures and conditionals formed with *ἔχω/θέλω* + infinitive or subjunctive should treat clitic pronouns as complements of the infinitive/subjunctive, cf. "I will + take it", "he will + come to you", etc. This is clearly the case when the subjunctive is marked by *νά*, since there are obviously two distinct VCs in play and the clitic always belongs to the second (as its second element):

- θέλεις [νά τοὺς ἐκλέξης] 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4633
 ἂν δύναμαι, ἔχω [νά σέ δουλεύσω] ?1448, Constantinople, VRANOUSI 1980: 45, 321.5
θέλει [νά μού δώσει] ὁ ἀδερφός μου 1531, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 20, 66.13–14
ἔχει [νά τοῦ ἔλθῃ] αὐτὸς ὁ θάνατος 1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 14, 35.5–6

The same analysis in fact applies to the relatively rare examples of bare subjunctives without *νά*:

- δὲν ᾔθελαν [τὸ δουλεύουν] 1573, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 2, 21.10

This situation persists throughout the period of this Grammar and eventually results, via phonological reduction of the auxiliary, in the sequence (θὲ *νά* >) θά + clitic + V familiar from MG (where the residual status of θά as the head of a VC is indicated by the fact that it is still negated by *δεν*, independently of what follows).

Things are different, however, with infinitives (in what follows, futures/conditionals and pluperfects are treated together as formally parallel periphrastic structures). When the auxiliary is initial, the pronoun stands before the infinitive, making it the second element both in the periphrasis taken as a whole and in the containing clause:

- Aux + cl + Infinitive: θέλω σου τὰ πέψει 1498, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 3, 21.16

When the auxiliary is non-initial in its VC, or has been attracted to a clause-initial constituent, the clitic is normally preposed before the auxiliary to remain the second item in the periphrasis/clause:

- X [cl + Aux + Infinitive]: νά τὴν θέλωμεν θάψει; 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 92

This state of affairs suggests an early reanalysis of the sequence *Aux + cl + Inf*, whereby the clitic was taken to be the grammatical complement of the preceding auxiliary rather than of the following infinitive. In other words, infinitival periphrases came to be regarded as unitary verb forms, with the auxiliary as part of a single VC and the infinitive as its head.

This latter development, however, was generalized rather slowly in the south, most obviously in Crete:

- ταὶ γάμους σου ἔρχεται νὰ τιμήσῃ ὁ βασιλὶδὸς τῆς Πέρσιος, σὰν εἶχα σου μιλήσει
 17th c., TROILOS, *Rodol.* III.215–16

It was strongly resisted in Cyprus, where the auxiliary and infinitive are consistently treated as the heads of two distinct VCs, giving the sequence [X + Aux + cl + Infinitive] in all cases:

- νὰ εἶχα [σε γεννήσειν] 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 644.5–6
 ἂν εἶχεν [τοῦ πάρειν] τὸ καράβιν, ἔθελεν πεθάνειν ἀπὲ τὴν πληξίν του
 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* O 86.3–4
ἂν εἶχα [τὸ ξεύρειν], οὐδὲ ἐγὼ ἔμπαινα 16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 38.3
ἂν εἶχεν [τὸ ποίσειν], ἐγίνισκετον μέγα σκάνταλον
 16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 52.6–7

Auxiliary Initial: Aux+cl+V

- καὶ ἂν τὸν πάρης, θέλω σοῦ δώσειν κακὸν θάνατον
 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 68.26
θέλομε σοῦ δώσει θέλημα 1663, Crete, LYDAKI 2000: 5, 415.13
 μοῦ ἔγραφες πὼς θέλεις μοῦ στείλῃ τὸ ρέστο τῆς παραγγελίας
 1696, Kastoria, MERTZIOS 1947a: 6, 213.8–9
ᾔθελε τὸν ρίξει κάτω μὲ καμίαν λαβωματιάν 18th c., *Don Kis.* 50.17

NOTES

- (i) Failure of attraction of the clitic to the innovative/popular complementizer in cases like πὼς *θέλεις* *μοῦ* *στείλῃ* (MERTZIOS 1947a: 6, 213.8–9, cited above) is difficult to explain in view of what was said above about this class of elements (and cf. the expected pattern attested in the examples immediately below). Perhaps these cases simply reflect the continuing influence of the functionally equivalent *ὅτι*, which tends to retain the "main-clause" distribution of clitics in subordinate clauses, as noted. We may compare the same situation in corresponding examples with pluperfects:

- ὡς εἶδανε οἱ Οὐγγαροὶ τοὺς Φραντζέζους τὸ πὼς εἶχανέ τουςε κόψει δλους
 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 33.1–2

Auxiliary Non-Initial: X cl+Aux+V

- εἰ μὲν τὸν θέλεις κακοποιῆσαι διὰ τὰ σφάλματα αὐτοῦ
 1130–40?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XI: 14, 535.9–10
 τὸ στέμμα τὸ βασιλικὸν νά τοῦ τὸ ἔχουν φορέσει 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 953
 ὅταν σᾶς θέλουν σφάζει 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1441
 ἐκείνοι παρακάθονται ἵνα τὸ θέλουν πάρει 16th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* O

δυντε τῇ θεῇ ζητήξει

16th c./15th c., FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 160

σαν ἔλθοῦν οἱ ποντικοὶ ..., τοὺς θέλομε ἀντισταθῇ

16th c., ZINOS, *Vatr.* 261–2

Pluperfects formed with εἶχα + infinitive naturally follow the same general patterns of clitic distribution, though the fact that the majority of examples occur in subordinate clauses with overt conjunctions strongly favours pre-auxiliary position overall. Generally, therefore, the clitic precedes the auxiliary in the presence of a conjunction (or indeed a negative marker or other legitimate “initial” element):

ἔβαλαν τὸν βασιλέαν ἐκείνον εἰς τὸ σκαμνὶ ... ὅπου τὸ εἶχεν χάσει

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 622–3

καθὼς τοὺς εἶχε ὁμόσει

16th c./14th c., *Chron. Mor.* P 81

δὲ μοῦ εἶχες δώσει τότες ἄλλο ..., ἀμὴ εἶχε μου εἰπεῖν

1501–3, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 7, 33.7

καθὼς τοῦς εἶχεν ἀφήκει ὁ Νεκτεναβός

16th c., *Diig. Alex.* K 349.33

προτοῦ σώση ἐκεῖ, τὸν εἶχε φρονήσει ἡ γυναῖκα του καὶ ὁ υἱός του καὶ τὸν

ἔσκοτώσανε

17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 30.29–31

τὲς δύο στάμνες ποῦ σοῦ εἶχα στεῖλει

1681, Ioannina, VELOUDIS 1987: 9, 306, f2r.21

But if the conjunction is a traditional one, the clitic may sometimes follow:

ἐπειδὴ εἶχον του μηνύσει νὰ ἔλθει νὰ ἰμοιράσουν 1502, Corfu, PANDAZI 2007: 39, 33.2–3

And post-auxiliary position is regular in the second of two conjoined clauses when the periphrasis is the initial element:

δὲ μοῦ εἶχες δώσει τότες ἄλλο ..., ἀμὴ εἶχε μου εἰπεῖν

1501–3, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 7, 33.7

By contrast, the original (i.e. biclausal) treatment of the construction is retained in Cyprus, with clitics appearing in post-auxiliary position across the board:

εἶχαν τὸν κόψει κακὰ καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν

15th c./13th c., *Assizes B* 267.11–12

εἶχαμὲν το δώσει

1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULOS 1983: 46, 25.2

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Index of Innovative Greek Endings and Suffixes

This index includes all endings and inflectional suffixes that are not inherited from earlier stages of the language. In order not to overburden this index, for phonetic and phonological variants the reader is referred to the relevant sections in Part I: raising vocalism (e.g. -ιτι for -ετι 2.5.4); back vowel raising (e.g. -ους for -ος or hypercorrection thereof, e.g. -ον for -ουν 2.8.3); deletion of final /s/ through dissimilation (e.g. -ου for -ους, -ε for -ές 3.7.1.1); nasal deletion before stops (e.g. -οται for -ονται 3.6.2.1); addition and deletion of final /n/ (e.g. -ων for -ω or -ου for -ουν 3.7.2.1 and 3.7.2.2); addition of word-final vowel (e.g. -ωνε for -ων, -ούσινε for -ούσι(ν), -όμουνε for -όμουν 2.6.3); syncope (e.g. -τε for -ετι 2.7.2); gemination (e.g. -μεθθαν for -μεθα 3.4.2.5); different stress patterns (e.g. -άμεν in ἔπαιζάμεν for ἔπαίζαμεν 4.2.3); synizesis (e.g. -ιούς for -ιους, -ιά for -έα/-ία 2.9.4). Also not included are endings that are the result of a combination of ligatures, e.g. -ομένστα(ν), which in fact represents -ομέστα(ν).

For nouns only nom. sg. is included, unless other cases or the plural cannot be inferred (e.g. -άδες).¹ For adjectives only the nom. sg. ending of masc. is listed, unless e.g. the feminine or neuter counterpart cannot be inferred on the basis of SMG (e.g. fem. -αρέα). For verbs only 1 sg. is listed (e.g. -οῦσα, but not -οῦσες, -οῦσε, etc.), unless there are notable variant forms for other persons (e.g. 3 pl. -ασαν). For forms of the copula εἶμαι, for pronouns, articles and numerals and for endings that appear with single lexical items (e.g. λέγας), the reader is referred to the Index of Greek Words and Phrases.

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¹ For masc. Pontic nouns with nom. sg. in -ων-όν (e.g. ὁ Σοῦτρον, ὁ Κυριακόν), see II, 1.4. For Cypriot gen. pl. nominal endings that are morphologically identical to the accusative (e.g. τὰ πράσα τοὺς καλογέρους), see II, 1.2. For Cycladic acc. pl. -ον/-οι endings (e.g. τῆς γερῶντοι, τῆς προεστοί), which are identical to the nominative, see II, 1.3.

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